



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

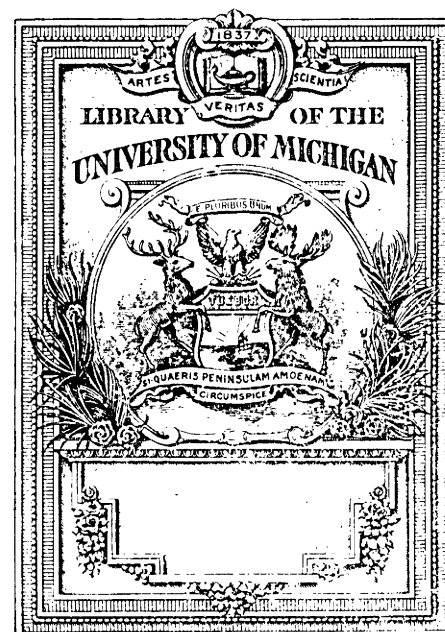
### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>









THIS BOOK  
FORMS PART OF THE  
ORIGINAL LIBRARY  
OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN  
BOUGHT IN EUROPE  
1838 TO 1839  
BY  
ASA GRAY



CR  
4723  
B68  
v.1















ANCIENT AND MODERN

MALTA.

“ Ce Rocher héroïque, en hauts Faits si fertile,  
“ Qui voit fumer de loin le Sommet de l'Etna,  
“ Malthe. . . . .  
“ . . . . .  
“ Les Lauriers seuls sembloient y croître  
“ Sans Culture.” *Homme des Champs.*

Vol. I.  
IN TWO BOOKS.

Printed by T. DAVISON, White-friars.















2-60

ANCIENT AND MODERN  
**MALTA:**  
CONTAINING  
A FULL AND ACCURATE ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
PRESENT STATE OF THE ISLANDS OF  
**MALTA AND GOZA,**  
*THE HISTORY OF THE*  
KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM,

ALSO  
A NARRATIVE OF THE EVENTS WHICH ATTENDED THE  
CAPTURE OF THESE ISLANDS BY THE FRENCH, AND THEIR  
CONQUEST BY THE ENGLISH:

AND  
**AN APPENDIX,**  
CONTAINING AUTHENTIC STATE-PAPERS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS.

BY LOUIS DE BOISGELIN,  
KNIGHT OF MALTA.

“De tous les Ordres qui prirent Naissance à l'Occasion des Guerres de la Terre Sainte,  
celui de ST. JEAN est le seul qui, conservant l'Esprit de sa première Institution, a toujours  
continué depuis à défendre la Religion.” HENAUT.

ILLUSTRATED WITH  
*A large Chart of the Islands; Views, Portraits, Antiques, &c.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.  
VOL. I.

LONDON:  
PRINTED FOR RICHARD PHILLIPS, NO. 6, BRIDGE-STREET, BLACK-FRIARS.  
1805.







## DEDICATION.

---

WERE I to publish the history of a monarch who, not merely satisfied with attending to the prosperity of his kingdom, and making his people happy, is likewise desirous of restoring to less fortunate sovereigns those dominions of which they have been unjustly deprived; or that of a young prince who, scarcely mounted on his throne, appears to possess the same sentiments, and occupies himself in pursuing the same object; I should undoubtedly offer the tribute of my labours to his Britannic Majesty, or the Emperor of Russia: but being about to present to the Reader the annals of an order the naval combats of which make so striking a figure in every page of this History, I do not hesitate a moment in dedicating it to

THE BRITISH NAVY,

which has produced so many celebrated heroes, whose brilliant exploits may be said to rival even those of ancient chivalry.







## ADVERTISEMENT.

---

*DURING the blockade of Malta by the English, whose superior navy and able officers left little room to doubt that it would shortly be rescued from the hands of the French, and from those of the rebels who had delivered it into their possession ; the idea struck me, that, unmindful of the sovereigns who, for nearly three centuries, had reigned over Malta in so glorious manner, this island was at that moment regarded merely as a military post, of the same nature as that of Gibraltar. This reflection first induced me to write the History I now present to the Public, which, as will plainly appear, was completed before the signing the definitive treaty :—this treaty has proved the fallibility of my opinion on various points ; I, however, think it a duty to publish those opinions in their original state, hoping at the same time, that such a proof of frankness and submission to superior judgments will entitle me to the indulgence of the able negotiators of a peace, which, by securing the tranquillity of Europe, is cheaply purchased at the expence of still more important sacrifices.*







## PREFACE.

AT a time when Malta makes so conspicuous a figure on the political scene of Europe, in the midst of the numerous governments overturned by the most astonishing revolution which has hitherto been recorded in the annals of history, I have been induced to believe that it would be both useful and entertaining to comprise in one single work every thing most deserving notice relative to that celebrated island, now become an object of universal attention ; to add all those circumstances which timidity and a mistaken idea of politics have hitherto concealed in all the modern histories of Malta ; to throw a light on those events which have been misrepresented by premeditated malice, or ill explained through inattention ; and to lay before the world all that has been passed over in silence, either from a degree of ignorance scarcely pardonable in an author, or from motives of self-interest still more culpable. For this purpose, I find it necessary to divide my work into two parts :—the first of which will include the geographical description of the island, together

VOL. I.

a



with the different monuments of the arts still remaining, the government, administration, natural history, trade, and finances; the second will contain the history of the knights of Malta from the time of their departure from Rhodes to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The authors who have supplied the most curious information on the subjects contained in the first part of this History, are *Abela*, *Ciantar*, *Houël*, *La Borde*, and *Boccone*: but their works are now become extremely scarce. I have comprised in a single volume the most interesting particulars (independent of the history of the knights) given by those authors, and have added several others which have either escaped their notice or did not enter into the plans of their respective works.

The second part contains a brief account of the knights for the first two centuries after the institution of the order; in which I merely take notice of some of the most striking features in their history, in order to describe with accuracy the interesting circumstances which preceded and accompanied the surrender of Malta to the French. This appears to me still



more necessary, since all the authors who have treated of this unhappy event have either expressed themselves with an indecent virulence, disgusting to a reader of taste, or given way to a decided spirit of party offensive to all lovers of truth.

I have therefore added to the particulars taken from the works quoted in the following catalogue, others which have been communicated to me by persons of the most respectable characters and the strictest veracity, who were themselves witnesses of most of the facts related in this History, and whose names I extremely regret that I am not permitted at present to make public.

A principal part of my design in the following work has been, to give to the world an exact relation of the cruel catastrophe of Malta, unfold the guilt and atrocious injustice of the most dangerous government hitherto known; and prove, that the order of Malta has for years past distinguished itself for piety and military exploits in as illustrious a manner as during the most renowned ages of ancient chivalry.



This order has therefore surely a right to resume a post hitherto so honourably filled, but of which it has been deprived by the reign of tyranny;—that reign which overturned all those religious, civil, and military institutions, which had ever comforted the afflicted, and assured the tranquillity and happiness of mankind.



# CONTENTS

OF

## THE FIRST VOLUME.

---

EXPLANATION of some terms peculiar to the order of Malta.	-	Page ix
Value of the money, weights, and measures, in Malta, compared with those of England.	- - - - -	xii
Catalogue of the principal works written on Malta and the knights of St. John of Jerusalem	- - - - -	xv
Supplement to the Catalogue.	- - - - -	xlii

### BOOK I.

#### AN ACCOUNT OF ANCIENT AND MODERN MALTA.

##### CHAPTER I.

The first authors of antiquity who have written on Malta. Different changes in the government. Monuments left by the nations to which, at various times, the island has been subject.	- - - - -	1
---	-----------	---

##### CHAP. II.

Situation of Malta. Description of the ports, towns, old city, and edifices; judicial and civil government; the grotto of St. Paul; the city Valetta; its situation, foundation, principal edifices, curious monuments both in painting and sculpture. The university; its functions, utility, and abuses in the administration.	- - - - -	20
--	-----------	----



## CHAP. III.

Malta divided into two parts. Description (by way of itinerary) of the most remarkable places: as the Boschetto; ancient ruts; mountains and fountains in the neighbourhood of Casal Zebug; St. Anthony's; ruins of Ghorghenti; Hagiar Kan; excavation near Makluba; ruins of a Greek house at Casal Zorrick; ancient tower at Gudia; Kasar; ruins of the Temple of Hercules. - - - - - 44

## CHAP. IV.

Goza not sufficiently fertile to supply its inhabitants with corn without foreign assistance. Form of government established in that island, which only contains six casals. Description of the most interesting objects of curiosity, viz. the castle; Rabbatto; the grotto in the Biasi garden; Quaccia; ruins of an ancient edifice; Giants Tower; Zebug; Alabaster Quarry; Convent of Capuchin friars; port St. Paul; Grotto; Clock-maker's Salt-works; extraordinary phenomenon; Mushroom Rock; dangerous manner of catching birds and fish; Sasso di San Paolo. - - - - - 60

## CHAP. V.

Description of the Maltese; their dress; ancient customs; ceremonies observed at weddings and funerals; diversions called La Cocagna and La Cucciha; Maltese language; Maltese sonnets. - - - - - 77

## CHAP. VI.

Fertility of the soil in Malta; manner and time of cultivating it. Growth of cotton; orange-trees. Bees; remarkable animals; dogs—asses—sheep; surprising fruitfulness of the latter. Manner of shooting different birds of passage and falcons. Population; wonderful encrease of the inhabitants; commerce; provision of corn; custom-houses; speronares; adventurous speculations of the Maltese merchants. - - - - - 101

## CHAP. VII.

The climate of Malta; degrees of heat and cold; principal winds. Nature and form of the rocks in Malta and Goza; influence of the sea on these rocks; their daily diminution. Grottoes and subterraneous places on the sea-coast. Principal fossils in Malta and Goza. Earth found in Malta of the same quality as kaolin. Plants of Malta. Culture of fig-trees by caprification. Description of a peculiar species of caterpillar. - - - - - 117



Catalogue of the principal Plants, the natural growth of Malta. - - 155

List of some of the scarcest and most curious Plants of Malta. - - 156

Catalogue of Plants which, according to Cavallini, grow in Malta and Goza. 158

Explicatio Nominum Authorum. - - - - - 170

Catalogue of several Plants which, according to Forskäl, grow in Malta, particularly near the Saltworks, together with the distinguishing characteristics of the said plants, published by him under the title of *Florula Melitensis*. 173

Catalogue of the different kinds of Fish on the coast of Malta, according to a learned Physician of that island. - - - - - 177

---

BOOK II.

ON THE CONSTITUTION AND FINANCES OF THE ORDER OF MALTA.

CHAPTER I.

Constitution of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, from its original foundation to the present times. Changes it has undergone. The legislative and executive power, in whom vested. The authority of the grand-master, how far limited. Extent of the said authority over the knights. To what degree the order was dependent on the pope and other Christian powers. Independence the principal basis of its government. Its right of sovereignty acknowledged, and its rank assigned in the different courts in Europe. Places in the gift of the grand-master. - - - - - 181

CHAP. II.

Government of the knights over the Maltese. Laws to which they were subjected under the dominion of the kings of Sicily. Amendment of their situation. Employments to which they might pretend. Their association with government. The formation of a language composed of Maltese greatly favoured by France. Consequences which must infallibly result from such an innovation. - - - - - 198

CHAP. III.

The order divided into different classes. Proofs of nobility requisite to be admitted into the first; proofs of being free citizens necessary to enter into the



second. Inns. Egard, the name of a tribunal of justice for trying the knights; the manner in which it was composed; why assembled. The ceremony of depriving a knight of the habit; that of restoring it to him. How far their obedience was required. Reception of a donat, or a brother de stage. - - - - - 211

## CHAP. IV.

A general and analytical table of the order of St. John of Jerusalem. Its origin; formation and administration; priories, bailiwics, and commanderies. Bailiwick of Brandenburg; its separation from, and reconciliation with, the order of Malta. Election of the bailiff. Reception of the knights. Situation of its property. Association of the order of Malta with knights of a different religion approved by the sovereign pontiff. - - - - - 241

A general statement of the commanderies in the bailiwick of Brandenburg. 260

## CHAP. V.

A general chapter; how composed; manner of assembling it; of deliberating, and collecting votes; affairs treated therein; time of its duration. Ordinary, complete, secret, and criminal councils. Manner in which the dignities of the order were divided among the different languages. Names of the places in the gift of the grand-master and council. Election of the grand-master; his revenue. - - - - - 265

List of the magisterial commanderies which formed a part of the grand-master's revenue. - - - - - 286

## CHAP. VI.

On the finances of the order. General observations on the science of finance. Meaning of deficit. Origin of loans. Venerable chamber of the common treasury; in what manner composed; its functions; arrangement of the accounts; general receipt; explanation of the articles which compose it. The annual produce, on an average of ten years. Contingent of each language. Income of different foundations fallen into the treasury; their amount, and how employed. Explanation of the articles which form the general expences of the order; their annual amount, on an average of ten years. A comparison between the balance of the treasury in April, 1779, and April, 1789. A table of receipts and expences. - - - - - 287



*Explanation of some Terms peculiar to the Order of Malta.*

*BROTHERS*—all those who were professed in the order.

*Convent*—the residence of the grand-master, or his lieutenant: it likewise comprehended the church, the infirmary, and the inns of the eight languages.

*Statutes*—the rules of the order, which were to be constantly observed, unless they were revoked by a general chapter. These ordinances, however, only lasted from one chapter to another; except those, indeed, which were very expressly confirmed.

*Inn*—a term well known to the French, Spaniards, and Italians: it signified a place where the brothers ate together, and where the different nations were assembled.

*Piliers*—the eight conventual bailiffs, who acted as chiefs and presidents of their respective languages, and as such were termed pillars or supporters.

*Bailiffs*—amongst whom were included the conventual and capitular bailiffs, the priors, and the castellan of emposta. The term bailiff signified in old French the prefect, or administrator of houses or any other estates; for which reason our predecessors gave the name of bailiff or bailiwick to the commanderies. An estate, or any other property, let for a term of years and on certain conditions, is at this present time called *bail* in France.

*Marshal*.—This was the title of the conventual bailiff of the venerable language of Auvergne: it was a military term borrowed from the German by the French, and signified the tribune or commander of a great body of soldiers.

*Turcopolier*—the title of the conventual bailiff of the venerable language of England: it took its name from the *Turcoples*, a sort of light horse, mentioned in the history of the wars carried on by the Christians in Palestine.



*Council*.—Whenever this term was simply used in our statutes, or in the books belonging to the chancery, it only implied the ordinary council.

*Egard*.—a French term, signifying consideration or respect. This tribunal was a very ancient one, indeed the first established in the hospital.

*Renfort*.—was taken from the same language, and meant corroborative, or strengthening.

*Renfort of renfort*.—implied doubly corroborated.

*Castellan of emposta*.—meant nearly the same as priors: whenever priories were mentioned, that castellany was understood to be implied.

*Congregation, or assembly*.—French terms of the same signification. The latter meant a meeting of brothers to treat concerning the affairs of the order.

*Commanderies*.—comprised the priories, castellany of emposta, bailiwics, demesnes, houses of the members, lands, estates, and all other kind of property belonging to the order.

*Living*s.—Whenever these were mentioned, either in the statutes or in the pope's bulls, they meant ecclesiastical livings either with or without a cure of souls.

*Mortuary*.—the revenue of a commandery, from the moment of the commander's decease to the 1st of the following May.

*Vacancy*.—the produce of the commandery for the next year after the expiration of the mortuary. This was the property of the treasury.

*Arrears*.—old debts, or any part of those debts left unpaid.

*Treasury dues*.—the effects of deceased brothers, mortuary, vacancy, respensions, taxes, pensions, passage fees, and arrears.

*Chevisement*.—was derived from the old French word *chevir* (to manage), that is to say, to undertake an enterprise with hopes of success. The first commandery obtained in right of seniority was likewise so called.

*Mutition*.—another old French word, signifying nomination or pronunciation; from *mutir*, to mute, to name, to pronounce. The bro-



thers employed this term in the different languages when they declared the person on whom a vacant commandery had been conferred.

*Piernauds*—were the last persons who had been professed, and who might properly be called *freshmen*. It is also an old French word very much used in the holy wars, to distinguish the Christians who came from beyond the seas from those who were born of christian parents in Palestine; the latter being called *Polans*, and the former *Piernauds*.

*Language*—the term employed in the order of Malta to express nation.

*Collect*—from the Latin *colligere*, to collect together. This expression was made use of when the brothers assembled to discuss different matters which particularly concerned their language or inn.

*Plainte*—a French term (*complaint*), requiring no explanation.

*Solde, pay*—from the word *sol* (penny), which the French, Spaniards, and Italians, used among themselves, and which meant a kind of coin employed for paying the army.

*Caravan*—in the Syriac and Arabic tongues signifies a company of men who entered into a partnership for the purpose of trading together. But in the order of Malta this term was employed in former times (and indeed ever after) for the brothers who were chosen to be distributed into different garrisons; likewise for those on board the galleys, and who were sent in companies to other places.

*Disappropriement*—divestiture or deprivation of property; and this took place when a brother made his declaration of all his goods and personals, of every kind.

*Parents*.—In the proofs produced by the brother knights, this term comprised father, mother, grandfather, and grandmother, both on the father's and mother's side.



*Value of the Money, Weights, and Measures, in Malta, compared  
with those of England.*

MONEY.

THEY reckon in Malta by *scudi*, or crowns of 12 *tarins* each.  
A *tarin* is 20 grains. The crown also is subdivided into 24 *carlini*,  
containing 240 grains or 1440 *piccioli*.  
A crown is exactly two shillings, and a *tarin* two pence.  
This money is of different value ; being sometimes of silver, and  
sometimes of copper. The silver is worth 50 per cent more than the  
copper.  
The current coin are louis d'or (with the grand-master's effigy) of  
8 crowns, or 16 shillings ; crowns of 12 *tarins* ; pieces of 8, 6, 4, and  $\frac{1}{2}$   
*tarins* ; of 15, 10, 5, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  grains worth of silver.

FOREIGN COINS CURRENT IN MALTA,  
*With their value in silver and copper.*

	Value in copper.	Value in silver.
Spanish pistole . . .	56 <i>tarins</i> . . .	84 <i>tarins</i>
Sequins and ducats . .	32 . . . . .	48
A livournine . . . .	$15\frac{1}{2}$ . . . . .	$23\frac{1}{4}$
Spanish piastre . . .	16 . . . . .	24

According to this evaluation, the Maltese silver crown contains 27  
*as* of fine gold, or 382 of fine silver ; and the copper crown 18 *as* of fine  
gold, or 255 of fine silver: the former, therefore, is on a par with  $38\frac{1}{4}$   
Dutch *sol's*, and the latter  $25\frac{1}{2}$  ditto. The Dutch *sol's* is worth about  
one penny.



## THE WEIGHTS MOST IN USE IN MALTA.

The *rotolo* weighs about two pounds and a half.

The *cantaro* or *quintal* of 100 *rotoli* makes  $156\frac{1}{2}$  pounds, Amsterdam weight: 100 pounds Amsterdam commercial weight make  $108\frac{2}{3}$  English avoirdupois: 100 pounds English avoirdupois make  $91\frac{2}{3}$  pounds of Amsterdam commercial weight.

The Sicilian weights being much used in Malta, it is necessary to remark, that in that island there are two sorts of *cantaro*; the one called *peso grosso* or *alla grossa*, and the other *peso sottile* or *alla minuta*: the difference between these two is a little more than 10 per cent.

A *salma* is equal to 25 pounds.

## MEASURES OF LENGTH.

The *canna* is divided into 8 *pans*, of 9 inches 8 lines each. It measures 6 feet 5 inches 4 lines. The foot is 11 inches 2 lines English measure.

## LIQUID MEASURES IN MALTA AND SICILY.

*Caffi* is employed for oil, and weighs 19 pounds.

*Salma*, a wine measure, containing 18 *quartonts*; and a quartont 12 *cartucci*.

*Salma*, a liquid measure in the kingdom of Naples, contains 10 *stars*. A star is 32 *pignotoli* or *pots*, and each pot is about a Paris pint; consequently a *salma* contains about 320 Paris pints, which make nearly 650 English pints.

## MEASURES FOR DRY GOODS.

*Salme*, a corn measure, makes  $3\frac{3}{4}$  Leghorn sacks: the Leghorn sack of wheat contains 162 pounds, and a sack of flour 150 ditto. An



Amsterdam *last* contains  $6\frac{1}{2}$  Maltese salmes. One hundred Leghorn pounds make  $69\frac{7}{8}$  Amsterdam commercial pounds, which make  $108\frac{7}{8}$  English avoirdupois.

The *salme* at Palermo is divided into 16 *tomoli*, which are divided into 4 *mendits*. Ten salmes  $\frac{2}{7}$  make an Amsterdam *last*. This kind of *salme* weighs 2 *cantari* and 64 *rotoli alla minuta*.



*Catalogue of the principal Works written on Malta and the  
Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, methodically classed accord-  
ing to the Order preserved in the Table of Contents.*

---

My original plan was to have noted in the margin the different historians from whom I have taken the facts and observations which will be found in this work ; but fearing to overcharge it with quotations, I thought it more advisable to give a list of the authors I have consulted, and to place them in such regular order as may tend to a more exact knowledge of the works published on the order of St. John of Jerusalem, and the islands of Malta and Goza.

---

ANCIENT AND MODERN MALTA.

FIRST DIVISION.

*The ancient Geography of Malta and Goza.*

HOMER Odyss. book vi. and vii.

Strabo, book vi.

Diodorus Siculus, book v. chap. 9.

Pliny, book iii. chap. 8. book v.

Ovid, Fast. book iii.

Ptolemy, book iv. chap. 3.

Pomponius Mela, book ii. chap. 5.

Solinus, chap. 32.

Martianus, Capella, book vi.

Apollonius, Argonauticon, book iv.

Thucydides, book vi.

Callimachus, the grammarian.



## SECOND DIVISION.

*Modern Geography of Malta and Goza.*

- Abela, Malta Illustrata, vol. I. This work is translated into Latin by  
Ant. Scinero. Printed Burman. Vol. XV.  
Ciantar, Malta Illustr. vol. I.  
Cluverius, book ii. chap. 26 and 16, Géogr. Ancient Sicily.  
Fascelli, Decad. book i. chap. 1.  
Malthe, par un Voyageur François, première Partie.  
Recherches Historiques et Politiques sur Malthe, chap. 2 and 4.  
Schoeneuman, Dissertation sur la Géographie d'Homère, page 25.  
Schlichthors, Dissertation, même sujet, page 13.  
Borde (de la), Voyage pittoresque de Naples & de Sicile, vol. IV.  
Hoüel, Voyage pittoresque des Isles de Sicile, de Lipari, & de Malthe,  
vol. IV.  
Madame Dacier, Note sur la première Livre de l'Odissée d'Homère.

## THIRD DIVISION.

*Ancient Monuments, Statues, Basso-Relievos, Edifices, and Ruins.*

- Abela.  
Ciantar.  
Malthe, par un Voyageur François, 1791.  
Recherches Historiques et Politiques.  
Hoüel, Voyage pittoresque.  
Borde (de la), Voyage pittoresque de Sicile, &c.  
L'Abbé Navarro (Fr. Giac.) Notizia di tre Bassi-Rilievi in Marn. 1778  
in quarto.  
Castelli, Numismat. Vet. Sicil.



## FOURTH DIVISION.

*Maltese Medals with Phœnician Inscriptions.*

Malthe, Voyageur François, 1791.

Abela & Ciantar.

Borde (de la), Voyage pittoresque, with engravings of the Maltese and Goza medals.

Hoüel.

Recherches Historiques et Politiques, with engravings of the ancient Maltese and Goza medals.

Malthe, Voyageur François, with exact engravings of medals.

Testa Ferrata (Giacco Marquis), Disserta. de Epigra. Templi Proserpinæ. Mal. in quarto, 1759.

## FIFTH DIVISION.

*Authors who have made Mention of ancient Monuments and Medals with Punic and Phœnician Characters, with their different Explanations.*

Scaliger, Epistola ad Ubertum, quæ 362 ordine est breviterque Facta. Linguæ Punicæ explicat.

Barthius (Gas.), Judicium de Sententiâ Scaligeranâ Legendum, &c.

Reinesius (Thomas), Defensio Sententiæ Scaligeri contra Barthium.

Selden.

Samuel Petit.

Rheinfeld.

Bochart, Geographia Sacra.

Bourguet (Louis), Dissertazione sopra l'Alfabéta Etrusco.

Castelli, Nuorism. Vet. Siciliæ.

Spanheim.

Monfaucon, Palæographia Græca, et Antiquit. expliq. vol. II.

VOL. I.

c



Bernard.  
 Clerc (le), Bibliothèque Choisie, vol. XI. and XVII.  
 Fourmont (Michel), Dissertazione sopra una Inscrizione Fenico trovata  
 in Malta, vol. III. Acad. de Cortone.  
 L'Abbé Barthélémi, Mém. Acad. Inst. et Belles Lettres.  
 Swinton, Philosophical Transactions, vol. LX.  
 Beyer, Linguæ de los Fenicos.  
 Pellerin.  
 Dutens, Explication de quelques Médailles.  
 Venuti, Saggi dell' Academia di Cortona, vol. I. Dissertazione sopra  
 alcuni Medaglie Maltesi.  
 Boze, Mémoires de l'Académie, vol. IX.  
 Guyot de Marne, Dissertazione sopra un' Inscrizione Punica e Greca.  
 Journal de Trevoux, 1736.  
 Saggi, del' Academia di Cortona.—Several volumes.  
 Agostini, Dialoghi delle Medaglie.  
 Borgia, Dissertation sur une ancienne Inscription trouvée à Malthe en  
 1749, in quarto.  
 Agius (I. Pierre), Sur les Pierres Sépulcrales trouvées au Goze. Rome,  
 1766, une Feuille Volante.  
 Paruta.  
 Lastranosa, de los Medagli Disconosc.

## SIXTH DIVISION.

*Geographical modern Maps of Malta and Goza which have been published,  
 besides the large Atlases.*

The principal are as follow.

Lafreri. Rome, 1551. Id. Venice. Id. 1565, larger than the first.  
 Zenoi (Domenico), 1566, at Venice, with the position of the army which  
 occasioned the raising of the siege of Malta.  
 Homan, a Latin map at Nuremburg. A new one since published, with  
 a view.



Wit, Amsterdam.  
 Sculter, Augsbourg.  
 Rossi. The same in his *Mercurio Geographico*.  
 Vouillemont (de), 1662; very incorrect.  
 Covent and Mortier. The same as that by de Wit.  
 Beaulieu, with a border, 1646.  
 Patrini (Paulo de).  
 Coronelli, 1689.  
 Van Keulen, a Dutch marine map.  
 Aa (Vander), a Latin map.  
 Berrey, a French map.  
 Cavallini (I. B.) Leghorn, 1642.  
 Valk and Peter Schenk, Amsterdam. Latin.  
 Pauli (Sebastiana), Latin map.  
 Furlanetto (Giace. Maria), Italian map.  
 Duval, 1664, French.  
 Dapper.  
 Palmeus, 1751, since copied in English, and drawn anew in France.  
 Jaillot, 1781.  
 Capitain, 1798.

## SEVENTH DIVISION.

*The principal Plans of the City of Malta, comprehending under that Title the City Valetta, La Sangle, the Burgh, Mola, and the Fortifications which surround these three Towns; together with all the other Forts or strong Places in the Islands of Malta and Goza.*

Borde (de la), *Voyage pittoresque de Sicile*.—Two plans of the city of Malta; the one geometrical, and the other a bird's-eye view.  
 Palmeus.—This is the most exact, 1751 and 1757.—Plan of the city Cambray, in Goza.  
 Coliquon, with the new and old fortifications.  
 Furlanetto.



Berrey, Les Villes, Forts, & Châteaux, de Malthe, 1724.  
 Succhielli (Filippo), Valetta, Cita Nova di Malta. . A Sienne.  
 Lauro (Lauro), Plan of La Valetta. Ital. 1631.  
 Raignault and Douillier, Plan of La Valetta. Ital.  
 Rabel (J. Briot.), Plan of the new City of Malta. Latin.  
 Mortier (Pierre), Plan of La Valetta.  
 Palumbi Novarien, Plan of Fort St. Elmo, called St. Ermo, 1566.  
 Merian, Plan of the City Valetta.  
 Coronelli, Plan of the City of Malta, in which are traced out some Fortifications intended to be made, 1688.  
 Danet, Plan of the City of Malta, without Fort Manuel.  
 Langres (de).

## EIGHTH DIVISION.

*Travels and particular Descriptions of the Islands of Malta and Goza.\**

Quintin (F. I.) Insulæ Melitæ Descriptio, ex Commentariis rerum quotidianarum, Lugd. 1536, in quarto.  
 Id. in folio, per Vander Aa.  
 Lauro (Giacomo), Pianta et breve Historia della Nobilissima Isola di Malta, in quarto, with a Plan of the City Valetta and the Grand *Caraque* of the Order.—Small volume.  
 Fontanus, de Bello Rhodio, Libri tres, quibus adjuncta Insulæ Melitæ descriptio in Fol.—in Italian, quarto, 1516, Venezia.  
 Megiserius (Jeron), propugnaculum Europæ. Small volume, in German. Leipzig, 1606.—The same translated into French by Jean Jacquelin, printed at Porentrui, 1611, in duodecimo.  
 Scinerius (Joan. Antonius), Descriptio Melitæ, translated from the Italian, at Leyden, in folio—Vander Aa.

\* I make no mention in this place of the different books of geography containing descriptions of Malta and Goza: I will only say, that I have not seen one that was not in many respects erroneous.



Niderstadt, Malta vetus et nova, printed at Helmstadt, 1660.—Small volume.

Anonymous, New Account of Travels through Malta, with a Description of that Island, by a French Gentleman, 1679.—Small volume.

Da Sylva Freire Manoel Thomas Balio de Leca.

Relaçam de Estado presente da Ilha de Malta. Lisboa, 1751, in quarto.

Porcacchi (Thomaso), Descrizione dell' Isola di Malta—in the work. L'Isole piu famose del Mondo, p. 58. Venice, 1575, in quarto.

Solis (Julio Cesare), dell' Isola di Malta, in the work entitled Descrizione di Malta, Isole famosissime, p. 7. Padua, 1646, in quarto.

Veryard (M. D.) Voyage en Hollande, France, Italie, Malthe, 1682.

Dryden, Travels to Sicily and Malta.

Marmot, Descriptio Afric. Liv. ii.

Dapper, Description of Malta, in the work already quoted. Description of Africa, translated, in folio, Amsterdam, 1686.

Du Mont, Voyage en France, Allemagne, et à Malthe. A la Haye, 1699, in duodecimo.

Motraye (de la), Voyages en Europe, en Asie, et en Afrique, 1727, in folio.

Brydone, a Tour through Sicily and Malta. London, in octavo, two volumes.

Swinburne.

Hoüel. The work already quoted.

Borde (de la), Voyage pittoresque de Sicile.

Abela, above-mentioned work.

Ciantar, ditto.

Riedsel (le Baron), Voyage en Sicile et Grande Grèce.

Borch (Comte de), Voyage en Sicile et à Malthe, two vols. fig.

Malthe, par un Voyageur François, 1791.

Mimant, Notices Historiques sur Malthe, copied from the preceding work.

Malthe Corse et Gibraltar, 1797. An *almost* exact copy of the work entitled—Malthe, par un Voyageur François.



Feuillée (le Pere la), Journal des Observations Physiques, volume I.  
page 41.

Anonymous, Neuestes Gemälde von Malta, or New Picture of Malta,  
two small volumes in duodecimo, 1799.

## NINTH DIVISION.

*Natural History, Climate, and physical Constitution, of Malta and Goza.*

Abela.

Ciantar.

Dolomieu (Commander).

Hoüel, Voyage pittoresque.

Malthe, par un Voyageur François, 1791.

Recherches Historiques et Politiques.

Bocone (Paul), Icones et Descriptiones Variarum Plantarum Sicilæ,  
Melitæ, Galliæ, et Italiæ, &c. 1674, in quarto.

Theatro Sheldoniano.

Id. Museo di Fisica e di Esperienze variato e decorato di Osservazioni  
naturali, Venet. 1697, page 56, fig. of the Fungus Melitensis Tube-  
rosus, page 69. Dissertation on the Fungus Melitensis, page 58.  
Observations on the Maltese Earth. Observations on the *Glossopetra* of Malta.

Cavallinus (Phil.), Pugillus Meliteus, seu Notitia Plantarum in Melita  
et Gaulo Insulis. Rome, 1689, in duodecimo.

Nierembergus, de Melita, Insula et Lapide Sti. Pauli.

## TENTH DIVISION.

*Maltese Language.*

Majus (I. Henr.) Specimen Linguae Punicæ. Dissertation of thirty-six  
pages.



Reinesius (Thomas), Instrumenta Linguae Punicæ, Errori Popolari, Arabicam et Punicam candem Opposita. Altenburgi, 1637, in quarto.

Agius (Canonica Giov. Franc.) della Lingua Punic presentemente usata da Maltesi in Roma, 1750, in octavo; in due dissertazioni: la prima intit. Dell' Origine della Lingua Punic presentemente usata da Maltesi; la seconda intit. Del Vantagio che puo apportare a tutti la Lingua Punic presentemente usata da Maltesi.

Id. Nuova Scuola di Grammatica per agevolmente apprendere la Lingua Punic Maltese.

Id. Idea d'un Dizionario della Lingua Punic Maltese.

Gebelin (Court de), Monde Primitif.

Vassallo, Dictionnaire Grammaire Malthese. A Rome.

## ELEVENTH DIVISION.

*Government, Constitution, Laws, and Statutes, of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.*

Stabilimenta Rhodiorum Militum Ord. St. Joannis Hieresolym. Venice, 1495, in folio: per Bernardinum Stagninum de Monte Ferrato. Ditto, Ulmæ, 1496, in folio.

Stabilimenta Militum S. Ordinis Divi Joannis Hieros. Salamant. 1534, in folio.

Statuta ordinis Domus Hospitalis Hierusal. Romæ, apud Antonium Bladum, 1556, in fol. 23d June. Ditto, Romæ, 1556, 3d August.

Regla de los Cavalleros de Milicia del Hospital de St. Jean Baptiste de Jérusalem, in octavo, without the name either of town or printer.

Statuti Tradotti dal Cav. Fra. Paolo del Rosso in Fiorenze, 1570, in octavo.

Nova Statutorum Ordinis St. Johannis Hierosolymitani. Madrid, 1577, in folio.

Statuta Hospital. Hierusal. Romæ, 1588, in folio.



- Statuti della Religione de Cavalieri Gerosolimitani, tradotti dal Cavalier Fra Paolo del Rosso. Firenze, 1567, in octavo.
- Gli Statuti della Santa Religione di San Giov. Gerosol. tradotti da Giacomo Rosio. Romæ, 1589, in quarto.
- Volume che contiene gli Statuti della Santa Religione Geros. 1676, by Bartolomeo Cotte, in folio. Ditto, 1719, by Ant. Stronico, in folio.
- Lomellini, Gli Statuti della sacra Religione; con le Ordinazione dell' Capitolo Generale celebrato 1603: aggiunto gli Privilegi, edizmodo di dar la Croce, in quarto.
- Montoya (Gaspard de), Stabilimenta Militum Sacra Ordinis de Sancto Joanne. Hierosol.
- Boyssat (Baudouir et Naberat), in L'Histoire des Chevaliers de l'Ordre de St. Jean de Jérusalem. Paris editions of 1629, 1643, and 1659. There is a translation of the institutions and statutes of the orders.
- Descluseaux (Commandeur), Recueil des Privilèges de l'Ordre.
- Lambert (Chevalier), Recueil des Privilèges de l'Ordre.
- Borgo Forte, Gli Statuti della Santa Religione Gerosol. Vertot has translated them into French.
- Vertot, Histoire de l'Ordre de Malthe—quarto volume. Traduction des Statutes de l'Ordre de Malthe, et un Traité de son Gouvernement.
- Codice del Sacro Militare Ordine Gerosolimitano riordinato, per Comandimento del Sacro Generale Capitolo, celebrato nell' Anno 1776, Sotto gli Auspici di sua Altezza Eminentissima il gran Maestro Fra. Emmanuel de Rohan, 1782, in folio. Printed at Malta—505 sheets.
- Compendio delle Materie conten. nel Codici del Sacro Militare Ordine Gerosolimitano. Printed at Malta, 1783, in folio—162 sheets.
- Garavita (Grand-prior of Lombardy), Compendio Alfabetico de Statuti della Religione Gerosol. 1718, in folio.
- Escanno (Ferdinando), Propugnaculum Hierosolimitanum, sive Religionis Militaris Sancti Jols. Hierosol. Militiæ regularis Compendium.



- Osterhausen (Christian von), Statuta Ordnungen und Gebrauche des Ordens St. Johannis von Jerusalem. Frankfort, 1644, by Joh. David Zinnerra, in octavo.
- Osterhausen (Christian von), Bericht dessen was zu Erhaltung des Ordens St. Johannis von Jerusalem vonnothen. Secunda editio, Augspurg, 1650, per Andrean Aperger, in octavo. Id. Frankfort, 1694, by Joh. Dav. Zinnerra, in octavo.
- Osterhausen (Christian von), Vortreflickheit des Maltheser Ordens. Augsbourg, 1752, by Eberhard Klett, typis Andr. Arpergen, in octavo.
- Brettevil (J. B. Bailli de), Lettera ad un Amico sulle Leggi e Governo della Religione Gerosolym. Lucca, 1763, in octavo.

## TWELFTH DIVISION.

*Ordinances and Military Regulations.*

- Statuti ed Ordinazioni del Emmo, Gran-Maestro F. Alofio Vignacourt, sopra gli Armamenti. In Malta, e Ristampati, in Messina. 1658.
- Rigolamenti militari fatti per le servizio particolare del Regimento di Malta. 1776, Malta, in octavo.
- Ordinanze militari fatti per Ordine di sua Altezza Eminentissima. Malta, 1776, in octavo.
- Ordinanze militari per regolare il Servizio delle Piazze, Fortezze, et Castelli di Malta: 1777, in quarto.

## THIRTEENTH DIVISION.

*A General History of the Order, and the Grand-Masters.*

- Pantaleon (Henri), Historia militaris Ordinis Johannitarum, Rhodiorum aut Melitensium Equitum. Basileæ, 1581, in folio.
- VOL. I. d



- Rosio (Giacomo), *Istoria della Santa Religione e Milizia di San Giovanni Gerosolimitano*. Three volumes in folio. First edition at Rome, 1594, with two first parts. Second edition at Naples, 1684. Venetian edition, 1695.
- Pozzo (Il Commentatore Fra. Bartolomeo), *Istoria della Santa Religione di San Giovanni Gerosolimitano*. At Verona, 1703: Venice, 1715, two volumes in quarto.
- Avvertimento a chi leggi l'Istoria del Commend. Fr. Bartol. del Pozzo. Cologne, 1705, in octavo.
- Boyssat (Seigneur de Licieu), *Histoire des Chevaliers de l'Hôpital de Saint Jean de Jérusalem*. Lyons, 1602, in quarto, two volumes.
- Ditto, par Jean Baudoin. In folio, a fine edition at Paris.
- Ditto, par F. A. Naberat, Conseiller et Aumonier de la Reine.
- Ville (Jean Claude de la), *Histoire de l'Ordre Religieux de St. Jean Hospitalier et Militaire*.
- Funes (Juan Augustin de), *Cronica de la Réligion de St. Jean Bautista di Jerusalem*. Parte I. en Valencia, 1626, Parte II. en Saragoça, 1639, in folio.
- Ditto, de Origine Equitum Melitensium. In French, 1605, in quarto.
- Vertot (l'Abbé de), *Histoire des Chevaliers Hospitaliers de St. Jean de Jérusalem*, appelés depuis les Chevaliers de Rhodes, et aujourd'hui les Chevaliers de Malthe. Four volumes in octavo, 1726: six volumes, duodecimo, Paris, 1761 and 1772. (In the duodecimo edition there is a list of the knights received into the three languages of France, which is omitted in the quarto edition.) An English translation in folio, two volumes, with the same engravings as in the Paris quarto edition: the names have been left in the original French. Edition in duodecimo, five volumes, in London, 1763. Ditto, at Edinburgh, in five volumes, 1770.
- Paoli (Paulo Antonio), *dell' Origine ed Instituto del Sacro Militare Ordine di San Giov. Battista Gerosolimitano, detto poi de Rodi, oggi di Malta*. Rome, 1781, in quarto.
- Lauro. See above, division Geography.



- Pacciaudi (Paolo Maria), Memorie di Gran-Maestri del Sacro Ordine Gerosolimitano. Three volumes, quarto, 1780, Parma.
- Quintino (Giov.), Epitome delle Vitæ de Gran-Maestri della Religione Gerosolim.
- Marulli (Com. F. Geronimo), Vite de Gran Maestri, della Religione di S. Gio. Geros. 1636. Naples, 1636, in folio.
- Fontana (Conte Aldigherio), Origine della Religione Gerosol. con la serie de suoi Gran-Maestri. Bologna, 1709, duodecimo.
- Anonymous. Cronologia de Gran-Maestri della Religione Gerosol. con breve Compendio Istorico ed il Ritratto di ciascheduno, intagliati a Bulino da Girol. Rossi. Rome.
- Brancadori (Gio. Bapt.), Cronologia de Gran-Maestri; con loro ritratti.

## FOURTEENTH DIVISION.

*Histories and particular Accounts of the first Siege of Rhodes in 1480.*

- Caorsinus (Guliel.), Obsidionis Rhodiæ urbis Descriptio. In quarto, 1480.  
Another edition, Ulmæ, 1496.
- Kay (John, Poet-laureat), The Siege of the noble and invincible City of Rhodes. In folio.
- Anonymous. Historia von Rodis, wie Ritterleute sie sind gehalten mit dem Tyrannischen Kayser, Maehomet, 1513, in folio, Strasburgh.
- Dupui (Merri), Relation de Siege de Rhodes en 1480.
- Guazzo (Marco), Istorie ove si contengono le Guerre di Maometto con la Signoria di Venezia, e l'Assedio di Rodi. Venice, 1545, octavo.

## FIFTEENTH DIVISION.

*Siege and Capture of Rhodes in 1522.*

- Fontanus (Jacob), de Bello Rhodio libri tres. Rome, 1525, in folio.  
Paris edition, 1540. Italian edition, Venice, 1545.



Christoval de Arcos, La muy lamentable Conquista y cruenda Batalla de Rhodas nuevamente sacada de la Lengua Latina, en Castellano. 1526, in folio, at Seville. Translation of Fontanus's work in a folio edition, at Valladolid.

Anonymous. Wahrhaftige Neue Zeitung der Belagerung der Stadt Rhodis. In folio, with neither date nor printer's name.

Bourbon (Chev. F. Jacques Betard de), La grande et merveilleuse Oppugnation de la noble Cité de Rhodes. Paris, 1525, quarto.

Tercier, Mémoires sur la Prise de la Ville et de l'Isle de Rhodes en 1522, dans le 26. Tome des Mémoires de l'Académie d'Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.

Resequier (le Bailli de), Dissertation sur la Trahison imputée à d'Amarat, Chancelier de l'Ordre, in 12mo.

## SIXTEENTH DIVISION.

*Sieges of Malta.*

Villegagnon (Nicolas Durand, Commandeur de), De Bello Melitensi. Paris, in quarto, 1552. French translation, by N. Edvard, Lyons, 1533, in octavo. There is an account of the plague in Tripoli in this work.

Salazar (Pietro de), Historia de la Guerra de Africa, con la Destruccion de la Villa de Monaster y Isla del Gozo. Printed at Naples, 1552.

Baildi (Capitaine), Descrizione della Assedio di Malta. Translated into Spanish, 1567, in quarto.

Cressin, Vrai Discours de la Guerre et Siege de Malthé, par les Turcs, contenant Lettres du reverend Prieur de l'Eglise. Paris, 1565, 15 sheets.

Vendosme (Gentil de), dell' Istoria di Malta e Successe della Guerra seguita fra quei religiosissimi Cavalieri e il Potentissimo Gran Turco, con la Descrizione dell' Isola. In octavo, 1565, Paris. Translated into French. Paris, 1567.



- Ulloa (Alphonso), *Istoria dell' Impresa di Tripoli ed il Successo dell' Armata Turchesca venuta sopra l'Isola di Malta.* 1505.
- Vincenti Castellani, *Forosempronio, de Bello Melitensi Historia.* 1566, in duodecimo.
- Hieronymi Comitis Alexandrini, *Commentarii de accerrimo et omnium difficillimo Turcarum Bello in Insulam Melitam gesto.* Ven. 1566, in octavo. Ditto, *Commentarii*, in octavo, 1566, Norimbergæ.
- Joan Anntonii Viperani, *de Bello Melitensi Historia.* Perugia, 1564, in quarto.
- Grangé (Claude), *de Bello Melitensi a Solimano Turcarum principe gesto Commentarius.* In octavo, 1582. Ditto, *Commentarius de secundo Bello Melitensi*, 1783, in quarto, Montalbani.
- Anonymous *La Levée du Siege de Malthé par les Turcs, defendue par le Grand-Maitre La Valette*, 1566. Paris, in octavo.
- Cirni (Anton. Franc. of Corsica), *Commentarie ne quali si describe la Guerra ultima di Francia, e l'Historia dell' Assedio di Malta*, 1567. Rome, in quarto.
- Coelii Secundi Curionis, *de Bello Melitensi Historia.* 1568, Basileæ. Ditto, *Joh. Valettæ Melitensis Principis, Epistola summam ejusdem Belli complexa.* Basileæ, 1567, in octavo.
- Folietta (Ubertus), *de sacro fœdere in Solimum libri quatuor, ejusdem variæ Expeditionis in Africam; cum Obsidione Melitæ.* 1587, in quarto, Genuæ. Ditto, in Italian, 1598, in quarto.
- Juvara, *de Turcarum contra Melitenses Bello.* 1565, octavo, Melitæ.
- Osorio (D. Diego de Santistevan), *primiera y segunda Parte de las Guerras de Malta, y Toma de Rodas*, 1599. Madrid, in duodecimo.
- Sans (Cav. Ippolitè), *La Maltea, en que se Tratta de la famosa Defensa de la Religione de S. Juan en la Isla de Malta.* 1582, in octavo, Valencia.
- Anastage (Cav. Fra. Vincenzo), *Lettere sopra lo Stato dell' Assedio di Malta*, inserted in the third part of his *History of Perugia*.



## SEVENTEENTH DIVISION.

*Maps and Plans of the Siege of Malta, during the Grand-Mastership of La Valette.*

La Freri, Disegno dell' Isola di Malta, come al presente si trova assediata. In Roma, 1565, folio, Volante. Ditto, Melita Insula D. Pauli : quondam Hospita, nunc Militiæ Hieros : Sedes cum C. C. Circiter Trirennium. Classe Maximisque Cepiio a Turcis Obsideretur. 1602, folio volume.

Disegni della Guerra ed Assalti dati dall' Armata Turchesca all' Isola di Malta, l'Anno 1565. Dipinti da Malteo Perer d'Aleccio ed intagliaté da Antonio Fransco Lucini. Bologna, 1631, folio.

Le Porte di Malta di nuovo Ristaurate dopo l'Assedio degli Infideli. Folio volume.

## EIGHTEENTH DIVISION.

*Capture of Malta by the French, and the Conquest of that Island by the English.*

Maisonneuve (la), Les Annales Historiques de l'Ordre Souverain de St. Jean de Jerusalem, depuis 1725. Petersburg, 1799, in octavo.

Mayer (le Chev.), Révolution de Malthe en 1798, vol. in quarto, printed 1799.

Boisredon Ransijat (formerly secretary of the treasury to the order, and afterwards ex-president of the French government of Malta), Journal du Siege et Blocus de Malthe. In octavo. Paris, 9th year of the republic.

Loras (Bailli de), Maréchal de l'Ordre. Lettre datée de Trezza en Sicile;



contenant une Description de la Prise de Malthe par les François.

Tigné (Bailli de), Gd. Prieur de Champagne, Lettre apocryphe, datée de Malthe, du 21 Juin, 1798 ; contenant la Relation de la Prise de Malthe en 1798.

## NINETEENTH DIVISION.

*Descriptions and Accounts of the different Maritime Expeditions in which the Men-of-war and Galleys of the Order have been engaged, since the raising of the Siege of Malta, under the Grand-Mastership of La Valette.*

Villegagnon (Nic. Durand, Commandeur de), Caroli V. Imperatoris Expeditio in Africam ad Argeriam. Paris, 1542, in quarto.

Cimi (Ant. Franc.) Successi dell' Armata della Maestà Catholica all' Impresa di Tripoli di Barbario. Florence, 1560, in octavo.

Anonymous. La Presa del Pignone, e l'ordine che ha tenuto la Maestà del Re Filippo a prenderla. Milan, 1564, in quarto.

Anonymous. News from Malta, written by a gentleman of that Island, who formed the desperate plan of assaulting, and taking by surprise, two castles belonging to the Turks. London, 1603, in quarto.

Anonymous. Relazione del Conflitto seguito contre Vasselli Corsani e la Presa fatta dalle Galere della Santa Religione. A Rome, ad Istanza di Gio. Elmi.

Anonymous. Relazione del Combattimento fatto del Generale Aldobrandino, Gran-Priore di Roma, con la Galere della sua Religione. 1619. Viterbo, in duodecimo.

Malatesti (il Conte fra Gabriello Viano de), Vera Relazione di due Impresi fatte delle Galere di Malta, nel 1620. Messina, 1620, in quarto.

Anonymous. Avviso nuovo della Presa della Città de S. Maura fatta dalle cinque Galere il dì 25 di Maggio, 1625 (25th of May). Roma.



- Anonymous. Relazione del Viaggio e Presa di due Galeoni di Tunesine fatta dalle Galere di Malta, al uimo di Ottobre, 1628, (last day of October).
- Anonymous. Relation des Combats du Maréchal Cremaux, Général des Galères de l'Ordre de Malthe. Lyons, 1629.
- Anonymous. Relazione della Vittoria delle Galere di Malta, ai 19 Luglio, 1634 (19th July).
- Anonymous. Relazione della Presa che hanno fatta le Galere della Religione di Malta, ai 13 Giugno, 1638 (13th June). Rome, in quarto.
- Anonymous. Relazione della gloriosa Impresa fatta in Barbaria, dalle Galere. Rome, 1640, in quarto.
- Anonymous. Relazione del Viaggio e Presa delle tre Galeotte e Vasselli d'Infideli fatta dalle Galere della Religione Gerosol. in Levante, 1641. Rome, in quarto.
- Anonymous. Relazione del Combattimento delle Galere di Malta, 1644. Rome, in quarto.
- Alfieri (Francesco), Discorso Panegirico ed Istorico in Occasione della Riportata Vittoria contra Turché nella Morea. 1685, in quarto, Milan.
- Anonymous. Seconda Relazione del Combattimento navale tra le Squadre di tre Galere della Religione di San Giov. Gerosol. e la Squadra di sei Vascelli Corsari Algerini. Printed in Malta, in quarto.
- Anonymous. Relazione del Combattimento e de Predazione delli due Sciabecchi Algerini sottomessi dalla Squadra delle Galere di Malta, 1752. Venice, in quarto.
- Anonymous. Relazione della Vittoria ottenuta da quattro Galere Maltesi sopra sei Sciabecchi Algerine, 1762. Naples, in octavo.
- Anonymous. Relazione del Combattimento seguite il di 4 Agosto, 1764 (4th Aug.) tra tre Galleotte del Gran-Maestro e quattro Galeotte Tunesine. 1764, Malta, in quarto. Rome, 1764, in quarto.
- Anonymous. La Presa di una Galeotta Tripolina, 1765. Malta, in quarto.



Anonymous. Relazione venuta da Malta della Presa di una Galeotta Tripolina il di 5 Agosto, 1765 (5th August). Rome, 1765, quarto.

Anonymous. Relazione venuta da Malta della Presa di uno Sciabecco Corsaro Algerino fatta dalle Galere della Religione Gerosolimit. Rome, 1766, in quarto.

Anonymous. Relazione della Presa fatta e Vittoria riportata da una Galeotta della Religione Geros. sopra di una Galeotta Tunissina, 1775. Rome. In quarto.

#### TWENTIETH DIVISION.

##### *Privileges granted to the Order.*

Privilegia et Immunitates Ordinis S. Joannis Hierosolymitani Rhodianæ Militiæ a Summis Pontificibus concessa. Leipsick, 1520, folio.

Privilegia Ordinis S. Joan. Hieros. Rome, 1564, folio.

Litteræ Pii Papæ V. Confirmationis Privilegiorum Militum S. Joannis Hieros. Aned. Acta facta in S. S. Tridentina Synodo, 1563. By F. D. Martinum Royas de Portalrubes. In folio, without the printer's name.

Bosio, Li Privilegi della Sacra Religione di S. Giov. Gerosol. 1589. Small volume, in quarto.

Bullarum Religionis S. Joannis Hierosol. cum Annotationibus ad Marginem Vulgari Lingua. Rome, 1628, quarto, in Typogr. Camera Apostol.

Privilèges des Papes et Princes de la Chrétienté accordés à l'Ordre de Malthe, recueillis par le Chevalier Lambert. Paris, 1626. In quarto.

Privilèges recueillis par le Chevalier de Closeaux. Second edition. Paris 1649. In quarto. Ditto, augmentés par le Commandeur Escluseaux. Paris, 1700. In folio.

Sommaire des Privilèges octroyés à l'Ordre de St. Jean par les Papes, Em pereurs, Rois, et Princes, tant en Hierusalem, Margat, Ptolemaïde, VOL. I. c



Rhodes, qu'à Malthe, du vivant de tous les Grands-Maitres, avec leurs Portraits, et Planches des dites Cités. Par Frère de Naberat, Commandeur du Temple d'Ayen. In folio. At the end of the History of Malta; in folio; translated from Baudoin.

Privilèges des Chevaliers de l'Ordre de St. Jean de Jérusalem dit de Malthe, accordés par les Souverains des Pays Bas, et confirmés par sa Majesté Imperiale, Charles VI. Folio. (Privileges of the Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, granted to them by the Sovereigns of the Low Countries, and confirmed by his Imperial Majesty, Charles VI. Folio).

Lettres Patentes du Roi Henri II. de 1549; de Charles IX. de 1566: portant Confirmation des Privilèges accordés à l'Ordre de Saint Jean de Jérusalem par Richard Roi d'Angleterre, l'An 1194; et Philippe Auguste en 1219—1717. Paris, in folio.

Gregorii, P. P. XIII. Reductio quarundam litterarum Pie V. p̄ Militibus Sancti Joan. Hierosol. ad terminos Decretorum Concilii Tridentini. 1580, Rome, in folio.

Benedicti, P. P. XIV. Literæ Apostolicæ super Confirmatione et Innovatione Privilegiorum Ordinis, S. Joannis Hierosol. 1753, Rome. Ditto, Lettera Apostolica con cui si confermano e rinnovano i Privilegi del' ordine Gerosol. con alcune dichiarazione ed ampliazione. In octavo. Ditto, Publicatio Bullæ ac Decisionum a S. Congregatione Consilii Tridentini emanatarum, quarum vigore definitur visitandi potestas Archiepiscopi Pragensis in Ecclesias Parochiales Ordinis Melitensis, &c. Folio. Prague.

Privilegi della Sacra Religione di S. Giovanni Gerosolimitani con Indice Volgare. Imp. Magistratus, in folio page, 1782.



## TWENTY-FIRST DIVISION.

*Works which treat on the Election and Deposing of the Grand-Master;  
with those on the Diplomatic Affairs and Politics of Malta.*

Urbani, P. P. VIII. Constitutiones de Electione Magni Magistri. Rome, 1628, in quarto, ex Typogr. Cam. Apost.

Ceremoniale. Della Sant di N. S. Urbano, P. P. VIII. sopra l'Eliz-  
zione del Gran-Maestro. In Rome, 1635, in quarto.

Oldradi (de Ponte), Consilium utrum Conventus Hospitalis Hieros.  
ex causa possit deponere Magistrum suum, si Confœderationem  
faciat cum inimicis Fidei Christianæ, 1320. See Consilia et  
Responsa del nominato Giureconsulto, colle aggiunte di Rinaldo  
Corso: stampate a Venice, nel 1585; ex Officina Damicani  
Zenari.

Saussure (M. de), Mémoire sur l'Attentat commis par une Partie des  
Chevaliers de l'Ordre de Malthe contre le Grand-Maître La Cassière.  
See Tom. XIII. Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles  
Lettres.

P. Sebastiano Pauli, Codice Diplomatico dell' ordine Gerosol. raccolto  
ed Illustrato dal. in Lucca, 1733, 1737. Two volumes in folio.

Georgisito (Petri), Regesta Chronologico Diplomatica. Frankfort  
and Leipsick, 1720, in folio, vol. IV.

Dupuy (Pierre), Histoire de l'Ordre des Templiers, Ouvrage qui  
pourra servir de Supplément à l'Histoire de l'Ordre de Malthe,  
auquel on a uni une partie des biens de celui des Templiers.  
Brussels, 1751, in quarto.

Campomanes (D. Pedro Rodriguez), Dissertationes Historicas del  
Orden de los Templarios; y un Appendice, en que se pone la Regla  
de esta Orden, Diferentes Privilegios; con notas tocantes non  
solo a esta Orden sino a las de S. Juan. Madrid, 1747, in  
quarto.



- Jumee (Jacques de, Chev.), De l'Origine, Progrès, Institutions, et Ceremonies, du Chev. de l'Ordre de Malthe. Paris, 1604, in octavo.
- Argens (Le Chev. Duc Boyer d'), Reflexions Politiques sur l'Etat et les Devoirs des Chev. de Malthe. La Haye, 1736.
- Descrizione delle Formalità colle quali si portò alla Prima Udienda il Bali, F. Gio. Battista Spinola, Ambasciatore d'Ubidienza per il suo Gran-Maestro e Relig. Gerosol. alla Santità di N. S. Innocenzo Papa XIII. Rome, 1722, in quarto.
- Relazione delle Formalità colle quali si portò alla prima Udienda il Bali, Barone di Scheden, Ambasciatore della Religione Gerosol. al Sommo Pontefice, l'Anno 1731: Rome.
- Relation du Cérémonial qui s'est pratiqué le Jour de l'Audience donnée par sa Majesté très Chrétienne à Mons. le Bailli de Mesmes, Ambassadeur de l'Ordre de Malthe. Paris, in folio.
- Relazione del Solenno Ingresso del Bali F. Lauro le Tonnelier de Breteuil, Ambasciatore della Religione Gerosol. presso Clemente, P. P. XIII. Malta, 1759.
- Relation de la Fonction solennelle de l'Estoc et du Chapeau envoyé par le Pape à D. Antoine Manoel de Vilhena, Grand-Maître. Paris, 1725, in quarto.
- Ditto, Relation de la même Cérémonie sous le Grand-Maître Pinto. Rome, 1774, in quarto.
- Ditto, sous Ximenes. Malta, 1774, in quarto.
- Villebrune, Mémoires Historiques et Politiques sur les vrais Intérêts de la France et de l'Ordre de Malthe, précédé d'une Lettre à un Ex-Constituant pour servir d'avis à tous les François. Paris, 1797.
- Mayer (le Chevalier), Considérations Politiques et Commerciales sur la Nécessité de maintenir l'Ordre Souverain de Malthe. In quarto, 1797.
- Bonnier, Recherches sur l'Ordre de Malthe, suivie d'une Lettre du Citoyen Merlin, Ministre de la Justice, au Ministre des Relations Extérieures, sur le même sujet.



Anonymous. Essai Critique sur l'Histoire des Ordres Hospitaliers et Militaires de Jerusalem.

Magri (Carlo), Il Valore Maltese difeso contra le Calunnie di Girolamo Brusoni. Rome, 1667, in octavo.

Present State of Sicily and Malta, extracted from M. Brydone and Swinburne.

Moncal (le Chevalier de), Abrégé des Mémoires pour la Réunion de la Grande-Maîtrise de l'Ordre de St. Jean de Jérusalem à la Couronne.

Malthe Suppliante aux Pieds du Roi contre l'Auteur de l'Abrégé des Mémoires pour la Réunion.

Pougé (de), Instructions sur les Devoirs des Chevaliers de Malthe.

Anonymous. Mémoire Historique sur l'Ordre de Saint Antoine de Viennois, avec une Consultation touchant la Réunion de cet Ordre à celui de Malthe. In quarto, Paris.

Anonymous. Traité préalable passé entre l'Ordre de Saint Jean de Jérusalem et l'Ordre Hospitalier de Saint Antoine de Viennois. 1775, Paris, in quarto.

Prima et Secunda Bulla Pii VI. de Unione Ordinis Sancti Antonii Viennensis Ordini Sanctæ Joan. Hierosol. 1777, Paris, in quarto.

Lettres Patentes du Roi du 30 Mai, 1777 ; portant l'Union de l'Ordre de St. Antoine de Viennois à l'Ordre de St. Jean de Jérusalem. Paris, in quarto. Ditto, autres Lettres Patentes du 25 Juillet, 1777. Paris, in quarto.

Décret de Mons. le Trésorier de la Sainte Chapelle portant Fulmination et Publication des Bulles du Pape Pie VI. relative à l'Union de l'Ordre de St. Antoine de Viennois à l'Ordre de St. Jean de Jérusalem. Paris, in quarto.

Dédution des Droits des Chevaliers de Malthe sur l'Ordination d'Ostrog. 1773, in folio. Translated from the Polish.

Réponse à l'Ouvrage ci-dessus, in folio. The same in Polish and in Latin.

Réflexions sur un Ecrit des Chevaliers qui a pour Titre, Deductio Jurium, &c. In folio.



- Resequier (Bailli de), Lettre sur l'Histoire de Malthe par Vertot. See *Mercure de France*, 1766.
- Réplique à la Réponse contre la Déduction des Droits des Chevaliers de Malthe sur l'Ordinatie d'Ostrog. By Matthieu Ustrzyche.
- Rapport de la Commission nommée par la Délégation de la République pour reconnoître les Prétensions des Chevaliers de Malthe sur les Biens ci-devant du Prince d'Ostrog. In folio.
- Lettres sur la Négociation de l'Affaire de Malthe en Pologne. London, 1775, in octavo. (Letters on the Negotiation of the Maltese Business in Poland.)

TWENTY-SECOND DIVISION.

*The Lives of many pious Persons of the Order; with the History of some of the Grand-Masters and Knights.*

- Anonymous. Le Immagini de Beati et Santi della Santa Religione de S. Giov. Gerosolim. con un brevissimo Compendio della Vita e de Miracoli loro. Rome, 1622, octavo. Another edition, Palermo, 1633, octavo. Ditto, translated into French by Baudoin, Paris, 1631, folio.
- Feo (Lorenzo), Vita di S. Ugone Commendatore. Geneva, 1483. The same by Giancardi, a Capuchin. Ditto, by Verdura, I. B. Geneva, 1665.
- Anonymous. Compendio della Vita e Miracoli di S. Ugone. Genoa, 1753, octavo.
- Papebrochio (P. Daniel), de B. Gerlando Equite Hierosolym. Synopsis Historica. A Latin translation of the Italian work of Bosio. See *Acta Sanctorum*, Mense Junii. Tom. III.
- Guercia (Bartol di Giov. della), Vita del B. da Villamagna. Ditto, by Monzecchi, 1709. Ditto, by Brocchi (Gius.), Lucca, 1750, in quarto.
- Brocchi (Gius.), Vita del B. Pietro da Imola Cavaliere Gerosol. See Tome II. delle Vite de Santi e Beati Fiorentini.



- Celso Maffei, *Vita Sanctæ Toscanæ Viduæ Ord. S. Joann. Hieros. cum Commentario*. See Tome III.
- Pozzo (F. Bartol. dal), *la Vita di Santa Toscana*. Translated from the Latin of Celso Maffei. Verona, 1721, in duodecimo.
- Pazzi (Silvani), *la Vita di S. Ubaldesca*. Printed in Italian. Ditto, translated into Latin. See *Acta Sanct. Mens. Maij*, Tome VI.
- Mesplede (Louis), *Vie de la bienheureuse Vierge Fleur, Religieuse de St. Jean de Jérusalem*. Paris, 1625, octavo. Ditto, in Latin. See *Acta Sanct. Mens. Junii*, Tome VI. Ditto, *Le Blanc (César)*, *Vie de Sainte Fleur*. A Toulouse, 1649, quarto.
- Thomas d'Aquin (le Père), *Vie de la Mère Galiotte de Genouillac, Reformatrice des Religieuses de l'Ordre en France*. Paris, 1633, octavo.
- Appolinare (de S. Gaetano), *Il Cavaliere Romito, Storia del P. Ambrosio*. Naples, 1693, quarto.
- Perfitti (Angelo), *Il Contemplativo Cassinese Ideato nella Vita del P. D. Luigi Carafa*. Naples, 1664, quarto.
- Anonymous. *Raggualio della del Commendatore F. Arrigo Rondinelli*. Venice, 1721, octavo. Bologna, 1739, octavo.
- Anonymous. *L'Idea del Cavaliere Geros. mostrata nella Vita di F. Agostino Grimaldo ed Rosso*. Messina, 1662, in quarto.
- Genssau-court (Matthieu), *Martyrologie de Malthe*, two volumes, folio. Paris, 165 . The arms blazoned of the knights mentioned, are engraved in this work.
- Valbonay (Marquis de), *Recherches sur Raymond du Puis*, Tom. VI. *Mémoires de Littér. et d'Hist.*
- Bonhours (le Père), *Histoire de Pierre d'Aubusson*. Paris, 1676, quarto. Another edition in folio. Another in duodecimo. Paris, 1677. At the Hague, 1739, in duodecimo. Ditto, translated into English; London, 1679, octavo.
- Pereyra (da Lima Cav. Antonio), *Acciones de la Vida de Fluiz Mendes de Vasconcellor Gran-Maestro*. Lisbon, 1672, in octavo. Ditto, translated into the Castilian tongue; 1731, Lisbon, in quarto.



- Ruffi (Antoine de), Vie du Chevalier de la Costa à Aix. 1655, in duodecimo.
- Calemard (Marc Antoine), Histoire de la Vie du F. Jacques de Cordon à Evieu, Chevalier de l'Ordre de St. Jean de Jérusalem et Commandeur. 1644, Lyons, quarto.
- Anonymous. Vie de M. Gabriel Dubois de la Ferté, Chevalier de Malthe. Paris, 1712, in duodecimo.
- Anonymous. Notizia dell' Esemplarissima Vita del Ord. de Caval. di Malta. Rome, 1747, in duodecimo.
- Vincenzio (Venuti), Vita del Balio F. D. Gaetano, Bonanno et E. Filinger.
- Anonymous. Vita penitente di F. Domenico Jarente de Cabanes la Bruyère, Caval. del l'Ord. Geros. Rome, 1766, quarto.
- Salvino Salvini (Canonico), Vita di F. Leone Strozzi, Priore di Capua, del Ord. Geros. pubblicata dal Manni, tom. XV. delle Osservaz, sopra i Sigilli Antichi.
- Zilioli (Alessandro), Vita del Commendatore Annibal Caro. Padua, 1735, octavo.
- Vernazza (Giuseppe), Vita di Benvenuto da St. Giorgio, Cavaliere Gerosol. Torino, 1780, quarto.

TWENTY-THIRD DIVISION

*Different Accounts of the Conspiracy of the Slaves and Priests.*

- (M. A.), Mustafa Bascia di Rodi Schiavo in Malta, o sia la di lui Congiura Descritta. Naples, 1751, quarto.
- Anonymous. Another account, in Italian, of the same conspiracy. Rome, 1749 ; and Venice, 1749, in quarto. Bologna, 1749. The same in French. Paris, 1749, in quarto.
- Anonymous. Relazione di quanto é occorso nell' Isola di Malta in Congiuntura della Ribellione di una Truppa di Sacerdoti e Chierici, 1775, nella Stamperia di S. A. S. in quarto. The same in octavo, without the printer's name.



Anonymous. *Réflexions sur la dernière Emeute de Malthe, suivies de Remarques Politiques.* Amst. 1776, octavo.

---

AMONG the great number of authors which compose the above catalogue, I have found the following the most particularly useful :— Abela ; Houël ; Malthe, par un Voyageur François ; Mayer, *Recherches Historiques et Politiques sur Malthe* ; Bosio ; Paciandi ; Sebastian Paoli ; Vertot ; Ransijat, *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*. Whenever any fact appeared to me particularly interesting, consequently worth preserving, I have not scrupled to copy it literally from one or other of the above-mentioned historians.

•



## SUPPLEMENT TO THE CATALOGUE.

*Pamphlets published on Malta during the Assembly of les Etats Généraux (States-General) ; together with those printed since that Time, with Quotations and Observations.*

Observations de la Chambre de Commerce de Marseilles sur diverses Questions qui lui ont été faites par un Député de l'Assemblée Nationale, relativement au Decret de cette Assemblée concernant les Biens de l'Ordre de Malthe. In quarto, 10 pages.

“ The board of trade at Marseilles will never forget the services rendered to France by the order of Malta in 1728, when the state of Tripoly had the insolence to declare war against the French nation. The same board will also constantly remember, that the bailiff de Boccage, in 1734, procured assistance from the order for some Marseilles vessels richly laden, which had taken refuge in Malta; that the chargé d'affaires, in 1742, acquainted France with the armament preparing at Tunis; and that the chevalier de St. Tropis, in returning from Portugal, escorted the vessels sailing to Marseilles beyond Cadiz, they being apprehensive of being taken by the Algerines; and that he afterwards anchored off the Hyeres islands for some days, in order to offer the same escort, as far as Malta, to the vessels ready to sail from Marseilles to the Levant. The armed vessels of the order continually sailing through those seas, forced, in some measure, the states of Tripoly, Algiers, and Tunis, to hoist the French colours; and constantly opposed any views the people of those different nations might have of building vessels for the transport of their merchandise and other productions. One hundred and fifty vessels, indeed often still more, with ten or twelve men, are employed in trading on the coasts of Africa.



“ It is impossible, without denying the different facts related both in ancient and modern history, not to acknowledge the services rendered to France in particular by the cruising armaments of the order, in all the wars between that nation and the states of Barbary.

“ France furnished cloth for clothing the Maltese troops, the slaves, and the crew for the galleys; likewise drugs for the use of the hospitals, a variety of articles for the arsenals, and provisions of different sorts.

“ Five hundred vessels were employed in the Levant trade. The returns were estimated at thirty millions of French livres.”

Observations de la Chambre de Commerce de Guienne, par l'Ordre de Malthe. In quarto, three pages.

This board approves all the observations made by that of Marseilles, and hopes that the national assembly will, in its wisdom, prevent those misfortunes which must inevitably attend the destruction of the order of Malta.

Rapport des Députés extraordinaires des Manufactures et du Commerce de France, auprès de l'Assemblée Nationale, sur l'Ordre de Malthe. Signés par les Députés des Villes de Paris, Marseilles, Bourdeaux, Bayonne, Nantes, L'Orient, Rouen, St. Malo, Le Havre, Dieppe, Dunkerque, Lisle, Lyon, Amiens, Sedan, Elbeuf, & la Rochelle. In quarto, seven pages.

In this report it is said, “ The marine, or navy of Malta, may be regarded as a maritime *marechaussée* (guard), always upon the watch, and acting the part of a guardian. During the war Malta was inestimable, as it served for an asylum for the trade and navy of France: it was also a nursery for excellent sailors.

“ Marseilles alone sent nearly to the value of thirty millions of French livres of the productions of France to the Levant, together with twenty-five millions of the different manufactures.

“ In America, or in India, its commerce with Spain, Italy, and



the north, is immense. Several French ports send thither for six millions of cod." This report was made on the 11th of August, 1790.

Observations au Corps Législatif pour des François devenus Membres de l'Ordre avant la Révolution. In quarto, 24 pages.

In this is the following passage, quoted from a letter written by the chargé d'affaires from Malta to all the members of the Order :

Paris, July 11, 1791.

" In consequence of the principles which the grand-master avowed in his letter of the 4th of February, 1790, and which his most eminent highness is well pleased to find have been conformed to in your capitular assemblies ; his eminence, at this present time, authorises me to request you to enjoin all the members of our order, novices, professed knights, and knights by favour, whether resident or not in France, if submitted to your jurisdiction, not to take part in any manner whatsoever in the troubles, nor in any steps which may be taken contrary to the operations of the national assembly, on pain of incurring the penalties inflicted by our laws."

Article fifth of the law of the 19th Sept. 1792.

Those French who, being received in Malta till this present day, have any pretensions to the benefices of the order situated in France, shall receive, by way of pension, ten per cent of the money advanced for their reception.

Same law—Article the eighth.

The above pensions, current from the first three months, shall be regularly paid every three months by the receiver of the district in which the pensioners shall fix their residence ; and those who remain in Malta shall be paid by the receiver for the district of Marseilles.

Examen rapide d'un Ecrit, intitulé—Opinion sur les Demandes de quelques François restés attachés à l'Ordre de Malthe, et qui ré-



clament des Biens personnels sous Prétexte qu'ils sont Etrangers et à l'Abri de l'Emigration. Brochure, en quarto, de 32 pages, signée de plusieurs Chevaliers, les mêmes en grande Partie que ceux de la Brochure ci-dessus.

Rapport et Projet de Décret sur l'Ordre de Malthe, au Nom des Comités diplomatiques et des Domaines, par T. C. Vincent, Député du Département du Gard. Le 8e Septembre, 1792, en quarto, de l'Impr. Nation. 22 pages.

In which are the following passages :

First, The knights who enjoy benefices belonging to Malta cannot, without great injustice, be entirely deprived of a revenue acquired at much expence, and by the most essential services rendered to the French nation, as their history proves most unequivocally.

Second, A declaration was made by the order, on the 13th of December, 1789, before Gibi and Mortineau, notaries at Paris, of the amount of its possessions in France.

The order enjoyed in France a clear revenue of 4,284,651 French livres, after having deducted one tenth of the original value, for the expences of administration. One ninth must therefore be added to the neat produce, to make up the whole of the revenue, which amounted to 4,760,753 French livres.

On the other side, the produce of the possessions of the Antonines is 315,126 French livres. The whole of the acknowledged revenues is 5,075,879 ditto.

The responsions paid by the French possessors of benefices amounted to 962,686 French livres. For pensions to the Antonines, 276,880 ditto. In all, 1,747,158 French livres. That is to say, a round sum of one-third of the revenue.

Third, The port of Malta and the hospital are, doubtless, very advantageous to France, but they are equally open to all other powers.

When Henry the Eighth in England, and the protestant princes in Germany, disposed of the possessions of the order, did Malta



declare war against them? Were the ports and hospital shut against them? Were they treated by the knights in a different manner from the French?

(Page 14.) When France was at war with the other powers, a decree of the council of the order was passed, that only four vessels of each belligerent squadron should enter at a time into the port of Malta to water. No exception therefore existed in favour of England. The plan of the decree, in twelve articles, is at the end of the report.

P. A. Laloy, *Dernières Réflexions sur les Articles des Projets de Résolutions concernant la Suspension et l'Accumulation des Ventes de Domaines Nationaux, lesquels Articles étoient relatifs à quelques François restés au ci-devant Ordre de Malthe, dans la Discussion continuée sur les Demandes de ces François qui réclamoient des Biens personnels sous le Prétexte qu'étant Etrangers ils n'avoient par dû recevoir l'Application des Loix sur l'Émigration; servant de Réponse à un Memoire publié par ces François, et distribué aux Membres du Corps Legislatif, sous le Titre d'Examen rapide d'un Ecrit.*

*Pétition des François attachés à l'Ordre de Malthe, présentée le premier Jour Complémentaire de l'An 4, ou 1794.*

M. l'Abbé de la Baste, *Réclamations Officielles en Sauve-Gardes et Garanties pour l'Ordre Souverain de Malthe, redigées en Latin et en François. Brochure, de 17 pages, (1792).*

Mayer, *Les Intérêts de la France liés à l'Existence de l'Ordre de Malthe. Brochure, de 18 pages.*

In which are quoted interesting passages from the memorials of the board of trade of Marseilles and Bourdeaux, consulted by the Constituent Assembly in 1790, on the importance of the relations to be preserved with the order of Malta.



Mayer, sur la Souveraineté de l'Ordre de Malthe. Brochure, de 15 pages.

A message from Lewis XVI. to the Constituent Assembly on the 10th of September, 1790, is quoted in this pamphlet ; in which the order is styled—a power to which the trade of the nation ought daily to acknowledge its obligations.

Mention is also made of a particular occasion, when Lewis XV. declared, that, if circumstances required it, he would make the sacrifice of an annual subsidy to ensure the existence of the order.

In all ports and fortified towns the general of the galleys received the same honours as the general officers of the most powerful sovereigns ; in the siege of Tunis, of Pignon, and, indeed, on other occasions.

The standard of the order took place of those of the dukes of Savoy and Tuscany, and the republic of Genoa. (See Bosio, Part III. Book vii. Sect. 23.)

Vatel, Droit des Gens. Prélim. F. 18.

Neither a superior nor inferior degree of power can make any difference in this particular. A small republic is equally a sovereign state with the most extensive and powerful kingdoms.

Mr. Smitmer, conventual chaplain of the order of Malta, and canon of the metropolitan church (St. Stephen's) at Vienna, was reputed to have in his library the most curious collection existing of books, maps, and manuscripts, relative to the history of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. The catalogue has been since printed ; once in Italian, in 1781, and the second time in German, in 1802.

I have fortunately had an opportunity of examining this rare collection, and the kindness of those persons to whom it was committed has enabled me to gain information, which I might elsewhere have sought for in vain.



Few of the works contained in the first five divisions of my catalogue are mentioned in that of Mr. Smitmer's, who had not interested himself so much about ancient Malta. I therefore believe my list of historical books to be much more complete; indeed, I have reason to think few articles are wanting.

It may, perhaps, be objected, that I have not given a list of the different manuscripts I have consulted; but they were given me in confidence, and cannot be mentioned without the permission of those who intrusted me with them. The manuscripts contained in public libraries will be placed in a separate article in a work I purpose writing on the knights of St. John of Jerusalem during their residence at Rhodes.



LIST OF PLATES, &c.

		Vol.	Page.
	Map of Malta, Goza, &c. facing the title - -	I.	
	Birds-eye view of the city and port of Malta, with the key - - - - -	I.	1
Plate I. }			
— II. }	Antiquities - - - - -	-	18
— III. }			
— IV. }			
— V. fig. 1, }	Interior and plan of tombs in the Benjemma mountains	-	45
— 2, 3, }			
— VI. fig. 1,	Remains of a house in the Grecian style of architecture, at Casal Zurick - - - - -	-	55
— 2,	Birds-eye view of the rock in which is the grotto of Calypso - - - - -	-	46
— VII. fig. 1,	View of the extraordinary fountain occasioned by the Clock-maker's Salt-works - - - - -	-	69
— 2, 3,	Plan of an ancient building in a circular form called Tadar Nadur Jozira - - - - -	-	54
— VIII.	Remains of an ancient edifice called the Giant's Tower - - - - -	-	64
— IX.	View of the Mushroom Shelf, or Rock - - - - -	-	72
— X.	Ancient tomb. Bichon, or Maltese dog. Dress of the Maltese women. Remains of the Cotoner - - - - -	-	79
— XI.	Fungus Melitensis - - - - -	-	73
— XII.	Portrait of Raymond du Puis - - - - -	-	184
— XIII.	A professed knight in the habit worn at his reception	-	221
	Portrait of prince Ferdinand of Prussia - - - - -	-	254
	— La Valette, facing the title - - - - -	II.	
	— Alof de Vignacourt - - - - -	-	165
	Birds-eye view of the city and port of Messina, facing the title - - - - -	III.	
	Portrait of Emanuel de Rohan - - - - -	-	1
— XIV.	A nun of the order of St. John of Jerusalem - - - - -	-	223



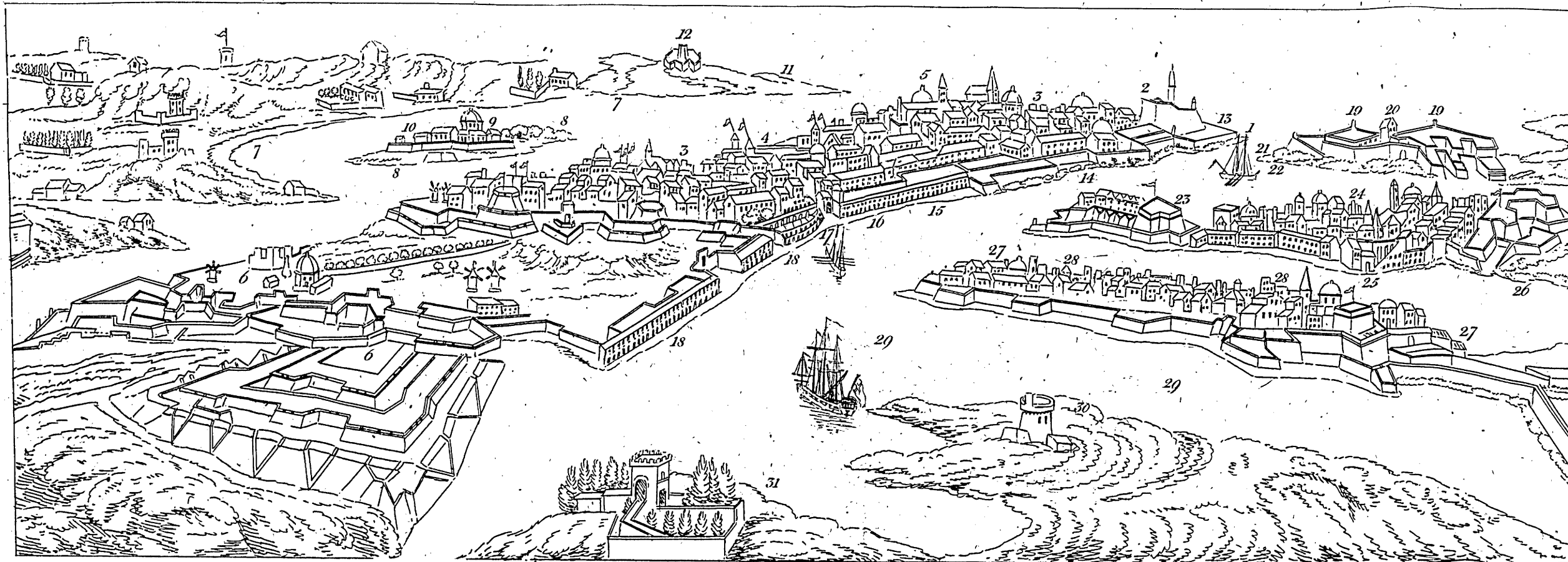








*Birdseye View of the City & Port of Malta.*



- |  |  |   |
|--|--|---|
| 1. Entrance of the great Port.             | 12. Fort Tigne.  | 22. The Port of the English.                            |
| 2. Fort or Castle of S. <sup>t</sup> Elmo. | 13. Bastion or Platform of S. <sup>t</sup> John.                   | 23. Castle S. <sup>t</sup> Angelo.                      |
| 3. City Vilella.                           | 14. Bastion or Port Castle.  | 24. Victorious City the first residence of the Knights. |
| 4. Church of S. <sup>t</sup> John.         | 15. Quay or Mole of the great Port.                                | 25. Arsenal for the Gallies.                            |
| 5. Palace of the Grand Master.             | 16. Storehouses for the Men of War.                                | 26. Fort S. <sup>t</sup> Margaret.                      |
| 6. Fortifications of the Moriana.          | 17. Fountain of Neptune.   | 27. Port of the Gallies.                                |
| 7. Port Marsea Muscits.                    | 18. The new Storehouses of Lascaris & Pietro.                      | 28. Peninsula of la Sangle.                             |
| 8. Island of the Sazaretto.                | 19. Fort Picasoli.   | 29. Port of the French.                                 |
| 9. Fort Manuel.                            | 20. House of the Commandant of Picasoli.                           | 30. Extreme point of the Comdin.                        |
| 10. Powder Magazine.                       | 21. Low Battery for the defence of the entrance of the Great Port. | 31. End of the Port called la Marsea.                   |







HISTORY OF MALTA.

BOOK I.

AN ACCOUNT OF ANCIENT AND MODERN MALTA.

CHAPTER I.

*The first Authors of Antiquity who have written on Malta. Different Changes in the Government. Monuments left by the Nations to which, at various Times, the Island has been subject.*

Nations.		Monuments in Malta and Goza.
Phæacians	. . . . .	Ancient tombs.
Phœnicians	. . . . .	Medals, vases, &c.
Greeks	. . . . .	Altars, statues, medals.
Carthaginians	. . . . .	{ Base and shaft of chandelier with inscriptions.
Romans	. . . . .	Inscriptions, basso-relievos.
Vandals and Goths	. . . . .	Statues of bronze.
Arabs	. . . . .	Medals, or rather gold coins.
Normans	{ . . . . .	{ Nothing remains of these nations but some title deeds relative to church endowments.
Germans		
French		
Spaniards	. . . . .	

THE most ancient author who mentions Malta is Homer, in his Odyssey, where it is called the Isle of Hyperia, which, according to fabulous history, was originally inhabited by the



Phæacians, a race of giants\*. The Phœnicians, to whom the navigation of the Mediterranean almost entirely belonged, landed in Hyperia about 1519 years before Christ, and finding the island of great importance to their trade, they seized upon it, and established a colony, which soon became powerful and considerable. They introduced the worship of their own peculiar gods, together with those of Egypt and Persia; such as the Tyrian Hercules, to whom the Greeks in after times gave the name of *Alexicacos*, or Averter of Ills; Juno, in honour of whom was built a temple in the space now existing between the castle St. Angelo and the city Vittoriosa; as also Mithras, Isis, Osiris, and Mercury. The latter was particularly revered as the protector of commerce, to which the Isle of Hyperia (then called Ogygia) principally owed its riches and population. It was governed by kings; and many medals or Punic coins are preserved in the museum of the library of Malta, together with two monuments, on which may be perceived letters in Punic characters,

Industry and commerce made great progress among the Greeks, and extended themselves to Sicily, and a part of Italy, where were founded some celebrated colonies in an extent of country, to which they even gave the name of the *larger* Greece. They drove the Phœnicians from Ogygia, took possession of it

\* Some authors have attributed the building of different edifices to this people, on account of the enormous stones of which they are composed; and have also imagined, that many tombs of more than ordinary size were erected in these fabulous times.



themselves 736 years before Christ, and called it *Melitaion*; whether on account of the excellent honey it produced, or in honour of the nymph Melita, the daughter of Nereus and Doris, we cannot pretend to determine.

The Greeks, being accustomed to navigate along distant shores, and there found their colonies, according to the oracles of Apollo, established the worship of that god in every place they visited, and engraved his effigy, horses, and lyre, upon all their coins. They dedicated a temple to him in Melita, in the very place which is now a square before the Town-house in the city Notable. They created a high-priest, by the name of *Hierothites*; and afterwards established *Archons* to govern the island, with power like that of those who afterwards presided in the government of Athens. There is not the smallest trace remaining of the Temple of Apollo; and the only ruins existing of Grecian architecture are those of a castle called Ghorgenti or Agrigenti, in honour of Phalaris the tyrant, of the town so named. Some excavations made in a hill called Benjemma, intended for a burying place for the inhabitants, may also be deemed Grecian remains\* to be seen in Malta.

Amongst a variety of antiquities of that time in the museum of the public library is a square altar dedicated to Proserpine, on the sides of which are sculptured two men offering a fish to that goddess (Pl. I. fig. 3): the front represents the emblem employed by the Syracusians to describe Sicily;

\* See Chap. III.



this consists in a head, out of which issue three legs, with the feet so disposed as to form the extremity of the three angles of a triangle. There is likewise a statue of Hercules (Pl. IV. fig. 4) of white marble, in high preservation. The god leans upon his club, and is crowned with poplars. This statue, most probably, decorated a temple near the port of Marsa-Sirocco.

Many medals still remain, some of which bear on one side the effigy of Juno (Pl. I. fig. 1), and on the reverse either a tripod of different shapes, or a lyre with the word *Melitaion*. There are others in bronze more curious, and of a larger size: these have the figure of an Isis or Juno, the head-dress composed of numerous small triangles (Pl. I. fig. 2), with the flower or double fruit of the lotus on the top of the head, at the back of which is the word *Melitaion*, and in front either an ear of corn to mark the fruitfulness of the island, or a caduceus hung round with a double vestment, the symbol of the commerce of the inhabitants, and their excellent method of manufacturing cotton. There is also a small coin struck from one of these medals, stamped with a head, to distinguish it from some false money coined about that time. On the reverse of these medals is a Genius crouched, with wings on the shoulders and heels; he wears a mitre on his head, and holds a scourge in each hand (Pl. I. fig. 3). This is the Genius of Commerce, of which his attitude and attributes are the emblem—*Power, Dispatch, and Confidence*.



About 528 years before the Christian era, the Carthaginians disputed the possession of Melita with the Greeks, and for some time divided it betwixt them ; but the Greeks were in the end obliged to yield up their power to the Carthaginians. The inhabitants, however, neither abandoned their dwellings nor their gods ; and both the Greek and the Punic or Phœnician languages were equally spoken in Melita.

The riches of Carthage flowed to Malta, and rendering its situation still more important, made it an object so interesting to the ambition and cupidity of the Romans, that it engaged their attention in the first Punic war ; it was therefore plundered by Attilius Regulus, and seized upon by Cornelius. The Romans, however, lost it soon afterwards, and never recovered it till the naval victory gained by C. Lutatius, 242 years before Christ, had produced a peace, which was granted to the Carthaginians, on condition of their giving up to the Romans all the islands in their possession between Africa and Italy. T. Sempronius, at the beginning of the second Punic war, was the first who entirely established the Roman dominion in Melita.

The only Punic monuments remaining in Malta are two pieces of marble (Pl. II. fig. 3 and 4), supposed to have been the base and shaft of a chandelier, with a Phœnician inscription on each ; and the same inscription in Greek. These have frequently been explained ; but the only good translation is by the learned Abbé Barthélemy, and is as follows :—“ We, Abdassar and Asseremor, the sons of Asseremor, the son of Ab-



“dassar, having made this vow to our lord *Melcrat*, the tutelar divinity of Tyre; may he bless and guide us in our uncertain way! Dionysius and Serapion of the city of Tyre, the sons of Serapion, to Hercules surnamed Archegetes.”—This inscription shews that the Hercules worshipped in Melita bore the surname of *Archegetes* during the government of the Carthaginians. (The meaning of this title is chief or conductor.) He was also called *Melkartos*\* or *Melcrat*, which signifies a powerful king.

Though the names in the Greek and Phœnician inscriptions are different, this only proceeds from a common custom in the East; where individuals, as well as towns, have not only an Eastern, but a Greek name, by which they are distinguished by turns. The same brothers are therefore meant in the record upon the monuments, though the language is different; the Phœnician inscription indeed adds one more degree to their genealogy.

It is thought these brothers who made the vow to Hercules were sailors, who returned thanks to that god, the protector of the commercial city of Tyre, for having conducted them safely into the port of Melita. They likewise invoked him to grant them in future prosperous voyages.

The possession of Melita was of too great importance to a power which aspired to universal empire over the Mediterranean, for the Romans to neglect any possible means to preserve it. They had driven away the Carthaginians, but they wished

\* This word in Hebrew signifies *king of the earth*.



to gain the friendship of the Greeks, who composed a considerable part of the inhabitants: they, therefore, permitted them to continue their ancient customs, and still called the island Melita: they made it a municipium, allowing the inhabitants to be governed by their own laws; though they sent a pro-prætor who depended on the prætorship of Sicily, and in whose name they struck some medals.

The Romans particularly encouraged commerce and manufactures; cotton and linen cloths were so famed for fineness, and the nicety with which they were finished, that they were regarded at Rome as an article of luxury.

The greatest attention was paid to improving and beautifying those temples, which were esteemed the pride of Melita, and to which both sailors and merchants repaired to offer incense to the protecting gods of their island and their trade. The altars of these gods long continued to be respected, but they were too rich to escape the rapacious hands of different depredators. A general officer belonging to Massinissa king of Numidia arrived at Melita with a fleet, and stripped the Temple of Juno of some curious works in ivory, which he presented to his sovereign. No sooner was that prince informed from whence they came, than he hastened to restore them; but the less scrupulous Verres seized upon them afterwards, and they contributed\* not a little to adorn his magnificent gallery.

\* See Abbé Fraquier's description of the Gallery of Verres.—Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions, Vol. X.



There are no ruins now existing either of the temples erected at that epoch, or of the theatre near the Temple of Apollo: there have indeed been found, at the bottom of the Marsa, some remains of a vast mole which bounded the port.

Among the monuments which evince the dominion of the Romans over the island, and the privileges continued to be granted to the inhabitants by the emperors, are medals, inscriptions, and statues. There are none of the former with the effigy of the emperor. Some have a head of Juno (Pl. I. fig. 1) on one side, with the Greek word *Melitaion*; and on the reverse a curule chair, with the following inscription,—*C. Arruntanus Batb. Propre*: others the Juno's head without the Greek word, with a tripod and the Latin word *Melitaion* (Pl. I. fig. 1) on the reverse. Some of the inscriptions indicate the Temple of Proserpine being repaired. There is an inscription in the Town-house of the city Notable, which mentions the repairs of the Temple of Apollo (Pl. III. fig. 1 and 2), and the public theatre being enlarged.

In the marquis Barbaro's cabinet of curiosities is the head of Augustus (Pl. IV. fig. 5) in basso rilievo\*, and the bust of Antinous (Pl. IV. fig. 6); and in the grand master's gallery a female wolf in alabaster (Pl. IV. fig. 4) giving suck to Romulus and Remus. These pieces of Roman antiquity were found at different times when Malta and Goza were ransacked, together with a large sepulchral lamp (Pl. I. fig. 5), of a beautiful curious

\* Of Maltese stone.



form : likewise a round piece of marble (Pl. I. fig. 4), the use of which is unknown : the sculpture on one side represents a griffin with its paw on the head of a ram, and on the other a theatrical mask.

On the division of the Roman empire, the island of Malta fell to the lot of Constantine ; religious disputes arose, and engaged the attention of all parties. The energy which distinguished the ancient masters of the universe was destroyed, and they were unable to resist the swarms of barbarians who, in the beginning of the fifth century, issued from the North ; ravaged the empire, and subdued the greatest part of it. The empire being thus dismembered, the Vandals seized upon Sicily in 454 ; and next took possession of Malta, from which they were driven, ten years afterwards, by the Goths. The island, whilst under the oppressive rod of these barbarians, could not possibly flourish, nor could its trade be preserved.

It appeared once more to raise its head under the reign of Justinian, who sent Belisarius to wrest Africa from the Vandals. This general landed in Malta in 553, and took possession of the island, which he reunited to the empire, and thus again made it of very essential use to all commercial nations. The fate of Goza was always the same with that of Malta.

These islands became afterwards still more rich ; but, the emperors not allowing them the same privileges they enjoyed under the ancient Romans, they never entirely recovered their former splendour.



The Greeks who still remained to defend Malta, and to share its commerce, unfortunately possessed nothing in common with their ancestors but their name, except, indeed, their pride; but being devoid of all their ancient virtues, they soon contrived to draw upon themselves the enmity of the other inhabitants, who at last sacrificed them to the Arabs.

The catacombs\* still existing near the old city may be reckoned among the ancient monuments of that time. These were originally intended for sepulchres; but their number was afterwards considerably increased, particularly when the different heretical sects became so numerous throughout the empire: they then most probably served as asylums for individuals of each sect, who wished to escape the bloody persecutions of the others; mutual hatred being the only passion which influenced the actions of all. Since that time the inhabitants have flown to them for refuge, whenever the barbarians invaded the country.

The only Gothic monument remaining in Malta is an inscription in the church of St. Agatha, in the city Notable. There are no remains of the three centuries which intervened between the reign of Justinian and the capture of the island by the Arabs, but one epitaph preserved in the museum of the public library, and a small, but curious, bronze figure (Pl. III. fig. 4) found at Goza, which we shall notice in the proper place.

According to the Cambridge Chronicle, the Arabs seized

\* See Abela, for the plan of these catacombs.



upon Malta in 870. They were resisted in the bravest manner by the Greeks, three hundred of whom, being shut up in the city Notable, were burned to death by the other inhabitants. The Arabs then made their entry into that town, not as conquerors, but as friends and brothers: they, however, were driven from thence the same year, and the Greeks remained masters of the islands thirty-four years.

The Arabs took possession of Malta and Goza a second time, when they exterminated all the Greeks, though they acted with great clemency towards the rest of the inhabitants. The wives and children of the Greeks were even sold by them for slaves; and thus reduced to obey those whom they were born to command. Their land was likewise divided among the Arabs, who established a government dependent upon the emir of Sicily. During the whole of the time they inhabited Malta, they treated the Christian religion and its ministers with proper respect, and were humane and just in their conduct towards the inhabitants, upon whom they laid no taxes. To supply the want of that resource, they armed cruizing vessels every year, which brought them in very considerable prizes.

This perilous manner of gaining riches naturally pleased the Maltese, a brave and active people, who were at that period deprived of a large portion of their land by foreigners, and were unable to supply their wants by commerce, which, owing to the distress of the times, became every day less important. The Arabs having thus instructed them in piracy, their own



experience perfected them in the business ; and the Maltese became, indeed still are, the ablest corsairs in the Mediterranean.

Some golden medals remain as monuments of the abode of the Arabs in Malta, two of which are in the marquis Barbaro's cabinet of curiosities. There is likewise a large sepulchral stone with Arabian characters, in the possession of baron Xara.

The Arabs reduced the circumference of the city Notable, to enable them to fortify it more easily ; and built a fort, where the castle St. Angelo now stands, to guard their vessels on entering the great port.

The Normans took possession of Malta in 1090, and permitted those Arabs who chose to quit the island to carry away the whole of their property. Those who remained were allowed the free exercise of their religion, on condition of paying an annual tribute to the prince : they also insisted that all Christian slaves captured at sea should be restored to liberty : after which count Roger (Pl. III. fig. 5) returned to Sicily. Some Arabs who had taken refuge on an eminence called *Kalua Ia Bahria*, so fortified by nature that it was impossible to approach it but through a defile, attempted to surprize the chiefs of the island whilst at divine service on a holiday ; but they failed in their enterprize, and every Arab was soon afterwards sent out of Malta. The Normans gave up the island to the Germans, on account of the marriage between Constance heiress of Sicily and Henry VI. son of the emperor Frederick Barba-



rossa. Malta was erected into a county and marquisate; but it was depopulated by the havock of war, and its trade entirely ruined, which reduced it to a state of the greatest misery. For a considerable length of time it was inhabited by soldiers alone, and had no other capital than the fortress which defended the port; but at length Frederick II. having taken possession of Cefalano in Calabria, in 1224, sent to Malta the unfortunate inhabitants of that place, who, by dint of industry both by land and sea, once more, in some degree, enriched the island. History takes notice, that William, surnamed the Fat, admiral of Sicily, and his descendants, were counts of Malta; but it does not appear that any of its lords contributed to the happiness of their vassals. The Maltese remained seventy-two years subject to the emperors of Germany.

Charles of Anjou, brother of Lewis IX. king of France, who was king of Sicily, made himself master of Malta; and it was in this island that John Procida formed the conspiracy, which was followed by the well-known affair of the Sicilian Vespers. A change of sovereigns immediately took place in Sicily, but Malta continued faithful to the French. Two years after, Roger admiral of Arragon attacked Corneille, who commanded the fleet of Charles, near Malta; and the death of the French general decided the battle in favour of the Arragonians, who took advantage of their situation to disembark in the port *Marsa Musceit*, and possessed themselves of the whole island. The inhabitants of the town surrendered at discretion;



and their conquerors insisted upon provisions and 2500 crowns by way of contribution. The fortress still held out; but the Arragonians arriving a few months afterwards with a formidable army to blockade it, the inhabitants pressed the besieged to surrender, and the French were obliged to capitulate. Charles made an effort to retake the island; but a naval combat between the two fleets, to which he was witness, destroyed his hopes for ever, and firmly established the empire of his enemies.

All that remains of the government of the Norman, German, and French princes, consists, according to the spirit of those times, in pious foundations. They endowed churches, and the cathedral was founded by the Normans. It is needless to mention the title deeds of the other church endowments: the most ancient are those at the burgh of Malleha and at Casal Tartani: the latter no longer exists.

The island of Malta, as appears from the foregoing pages, had long suffered from the discord which reigned between its successive sovereigns; and it groaned still longer afterwards under the tyranny of different individuals to whom the kings of Arragon, and the kings of Castille who succeeded them in 1414, ceded it in title of fief: it thus became either the appanage of some illegitimate son of their prince, the reward of one of his favourites, or the price of personal services done to the sovereign, rather than of those rendered to the crown.

The Maltese, under the reign of Lewis, son of Peter II. vainly imagined they had succeeded in procuring the islands of



Malta and Goza to be attached to the Sicilian monarchy without power of alienation ; they having been twice since that time mortgaged for sums lent to their princes.

These islanders, weary of complaining, though too loyal to revolt, determined, at their own expence, to free themselves at once from the shame they felt at seeing their sovereign constantly making a traffic of his territories ; and likewise from the unjust and frequent claims made upon them by the different governors so continually placed over them. They therefore made a generous effort, and offered king Alphonso to discharge themselves the 30,000 florins for which the island was pawned : this the king accepted, in 1428 ; and promised in return, that the islands of Malta and Goza should never, in future, be separated from the kingdom of Sicily : he even permitted the inhabitants, in case of a breach of promise, to oppose him by force of arms, without such conduct being deemed either disobedience or rebellion ; but this permission did not extend to the liberty of choosing another sovereign.

The government of Malta, after it was united to Sicily, consisted of a council termed *popular* ; which appointed to all places in the administration, and chose the members of the tribunal. This council was composed of all the nobles, and the heads of the villages or casals\* : the members were approved by the sovereign, who was always regarded as supreme chief in matters of justice. In other branches of the administration,

\* Hamlets.



the Maltese had seldom any share. A person high in the military line was appointed to execute the laws, to maintain a proper police, and to defend the island. The poverty of this people was so great, that Sicily was obliged to furnish them at a very moderate price with the common necessities of life : it was therefore impossible to tax them highly ; so that in 1516 the two islands of Malta and Goza only paid the trifling sum of forty-one ducats to the treasury.

Goza and Cumin were always attached to the fate of Malta : the ancient name of the former is unknown ; but it was called *Gaulos* whilst in the possession of the Greeks. Cumin was distinguished by the name of *Hephastias*.

Among the most remarkable monuments at Goza, are the remains of an edifice built with enormous stones, commonly called the Giant's Tower ; various medals, one of which bears a helmet, with a crescent under it, on one side ; and on the other a warrior with a buckler and javelin, having in front a star, and behind the word *Gauliton* (Pl. I. fig. 2). This designates Castor and Pollux, divinities ever favourable to mariners. There are likewise a variety of inscriptions preserved in the castle, together with a mutilated statue. Julia Augusta, the mother of Tiberius, is named *Ceres* in one of these inscriptions upon marble. A very curious monument found at Goza, and preserved in the museum at Malta, is a small bronze figure (Pl. III. fig. 3 and 4), representing a lame beggar\* without a beard, seated

\* See Chap. IV.



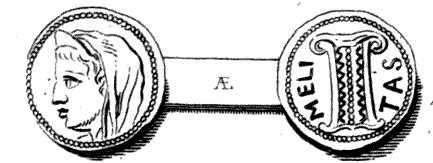
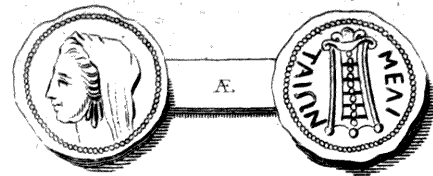
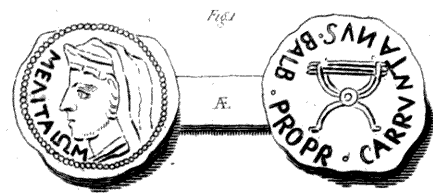
in a kind of basket: he rests his left hand on the ground, which, on that account, as it appears, is covered with something resembling a sandal; and he presents a cup with the other: the rags which serve him for clothing as low as the knees, are fastened round him by a cord, and a cloak, like that of a pilgrim, is hung on his shoulders. The whole of this figure is covered with characters, some of which are Greek, some Etruscan, and others those of an unknown language. The monogram of Christ may be plainly distinguished; and the letters which precede it form in Ionic ΘΥΠΕΤ for ΕΤΥΠΗ, which joined to the monogram signifies—*The Lord is struck*. This figure holds upon his arm the feet of another figure, which have been broken off and lost. According to all appearance, the former represents one of those sectaries who, in the second and third centuries, employed themselves in imagining a kind of arithmetical theology, according to which they pretended that the letters of the alphabet, particularly those which expressed numbers, contained the power that created the universe; and became, as they asserted, even the physical cause of its production. The principal proof on which they relied in defence of this absurdity was, that Jesus Christ had himself said, I am Alpha and Omega. It was customary with these heretics, in consequence of this extravagant and ridiculous superstition, to inscribe on their monuments a vast number of mysterious alphabetical characters; and it is therefore probable that this figure represented one of their principal chiefs, and afterwards



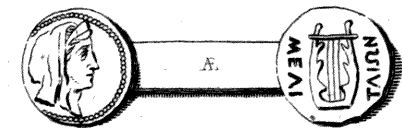
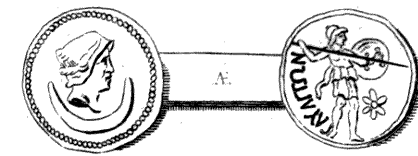
became an object of adoration. The torments he had undergone had, as it appears, deprived him of the use of his legs; and forced him, in that miserable state, to become a beggar. His cloak was covered with characters, according to the custom of his sect; and the words, which are plainly to be distinguished, *Jesus Christ was struck*, were meant either as a consolation for his own sufferings, or intended to exhort his brethren to bear with patience the pain and mortifications they might possibly be exposed to endure.

Such were the changes which had taken place in the government of these two islands, when Charles V. added them to his vast domains. This politic prince, whose prudence equalled his activity, considered these possessions in a very different light from his predecessors, who had ever regarded them as of small importance to their dominions. To command the Mediterranean, to secure the coast of Sicily, to threaten that of Africa, and to interrupt at pleasure all commercial intercourse between the two seas in the centre of which they were placed, were objects of sufficient importance for Charles to be well aware of the great advantage of possessing these two islands. His policy alone would have induced him to profit by such a circumstance: but his foresight extended still farther; for fearing these important places might in future be taken from his successors, who, being obliged to attend to the centre of their dominions, or to the opposite confines, might not be able to keep a force sufficient for the defence of Malta and Goza—

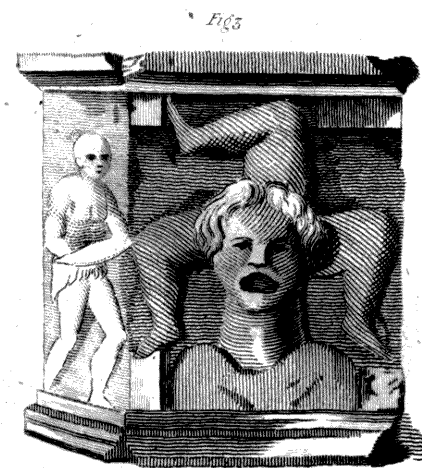




*Greek and Roman Medals*



*Greek Medals*



*Greek Altar*



*Marble found at Giza*



*Roman Sepulchral Lamp*





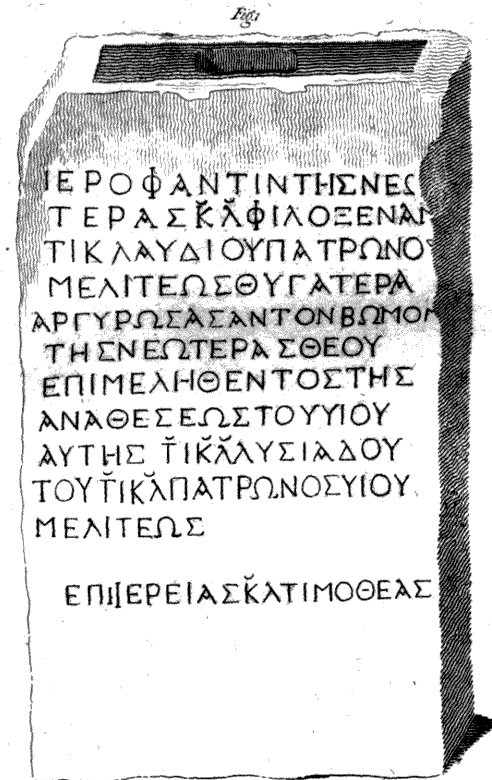




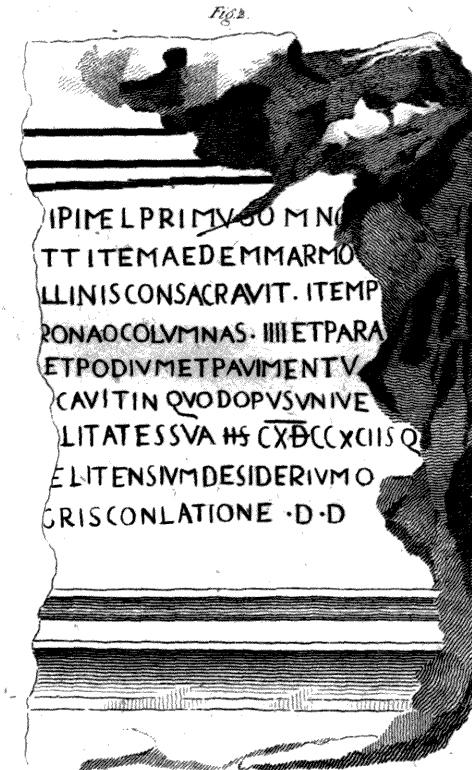








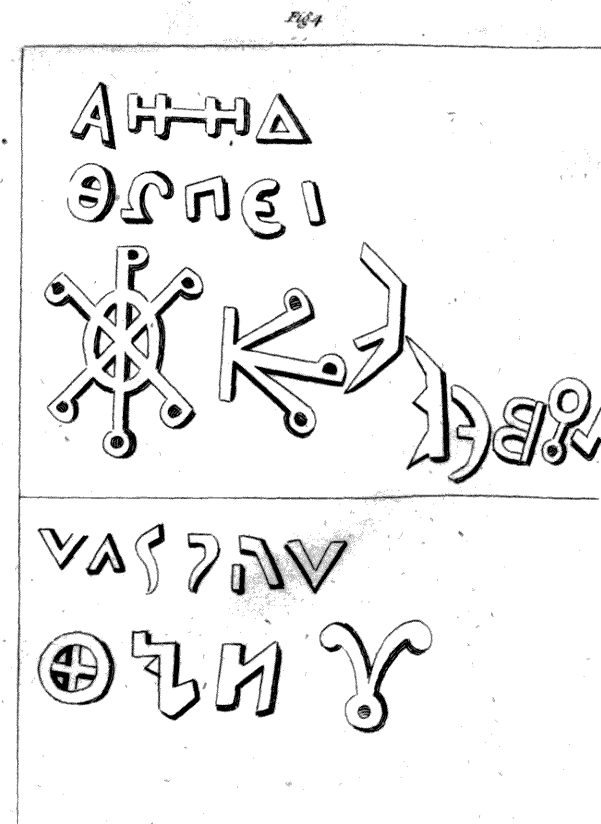
*Greek Inscription.*



*Latin Inscription.*



*Bronze Statue with Greek, Etruscan, and unknown characters.*



*Characters on the Statue, Fig. 5.*



*Coin of Count Roger, Count of Malta.*









*Baso-Relief no. 39. Inches by 22.*



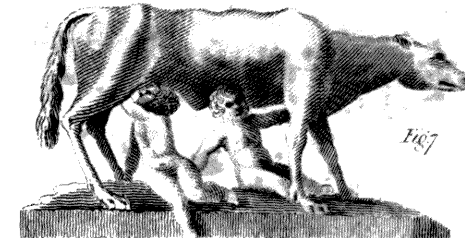
*Statue of Hercules.*



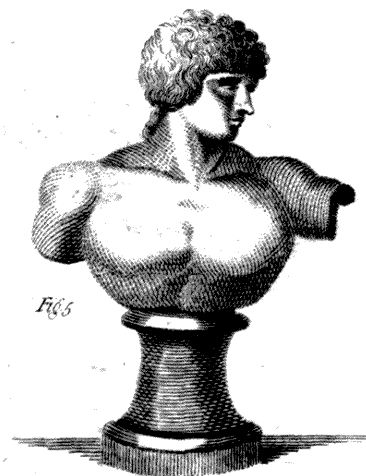
*Bust of Penthésilée in Baso-Relief.*



*Bust of Zenobia in Baso-Relief.*



*The Wolf which suckled Romulus & Remus.*



*Bust of Antinous.*



*Head of Augustus Baso-Relief.*







and at the same time reflecting of what importance such a conquest would be to his enemies in the political balance of Europe—he determined to place them in the hands of some power which would be particularly interested in preserving them; and which, without being able to annoy any other state, would be respected by all. Added to these considerations, he found it very advantageous to save the expence of 340,000 French livres, which his treasury was obliged to furnish for the maintenance of the different garrisons it was necessary to keep in the forts and castles of Malta, Goza, and Tripoly. He, in consequence, made choice of the order of St. John of Jerusalem; which, having been driven from its principal place of residence, had been wandering on the coast of Italy: and in 1530 he established the knights as perpetual sovereigns of the islands of Malta and Goza, together with the city of Tripoly.



## C H A P. II.

*Situation of Malta. Description of the Ports, Towns, old City, and Edifices; Judicial and Civil Government; the Grotto of St. Paul; the City Valette, its Situation, Foundation, principal Edifices, curious Monuments both in Painting and Sculpture. The University; its Functions, Utility, and Abuses in the Administration.*

THE island of Malta is situate between Sicily and Africa, in 33 degrees 40 minutes of east longitude from Ferro (15 degrees 54 minutes east from London), and 35 degrees 44 minutes 26 seconds of north latitude\*. It is the most southern island in Europe: distant sixty miles from Cape Passaro; a hundred and ninety from Cape Spartivento in Calabria, the nearest point on the continent of Europe; two hundred from Calipia, the nearest part of the continent of Africa; and two hundred and seventy from Tripoly. It is sixty miles in circumference, twenty long, and twelve broad. It faces on the east the island of Candia; on the west, the small islands or rocks of Pantaleria, Linosa, and Lampedosa; on the north, Sicily; and on the south, the kingdom of Tunis.

\*Ptolemy places Malta in Africa (lib. iv. cap. 3), in 38 degrees 45 minutes longitude from Ferro, and 34 degrees 40 minutes latitude. Pliny (lib. iv. cap. 8) and Strabo (lib. vi.) place it between the islands of Italy. Dapper makes it situated in 49 degrees longitude, and 35 degrees 10 minutes latitude: but the description given in this work is taken from the author of the Political and Historical Researches on Malta, and the Observations of Father Feuillée; (see Journal of Physical Observations, Vol. II.)



There is nothing to be seen to the south and towards Tripoly, but shelves and rocks, without either creeks or ports; but to the east there is the port of Marsa-Scala, and towards the south-west that of Marsa-Sirocco, capable of containing a great number of vessels: farther on, and likewise between the south and east, are the two gulfs of Antifeya and Musiaro; and at the very extremity of the island, towards the west, is an extremely commodious cove, serving as a road for ships: this is named Melecca, and is separated from Goza by a channel about four miles broad. The small islands of Cumin and Cuminino are in the middle of this channel.

The port of St. Paul is on the coast opposite Sicily, and is so called from a tradition that the vessel in which St. Paul was sent prisoner to Rome was driven in there by a storm. St. George's Port, towards the north, is not far distant from that of St. Paul. Directly facing Cape Passaro are two considerable ports: that to the left is *Marsa Musceit* or Port *Musset*, in the midst of which is a small island; near which all vessels from the Levant, or any other place suspected of contagious disease, perform quarantine. The other is merely called *Marsa*, or the Great Port, and is situated to the east. These two are separated by a point of land, at the extremity of which is Fort St. Elmo, serving to defend the entrance of both ports. There are two parallel points of land, shaped like two fingers; these are in the Great Port, and project into the sea, being much less broad than long: the castle St. Angelo is built on the one



nearest the entrance of the port, and was the only fortress in the whole island when the knights first took possession of it. The grand-master L'Isle Adam added bastions, ramparts, and ditches, to this fort: he also made cisterns, and built an arsenal and different storehouses.

*Il Borgo* (or the Burgh), to the north of the castle St. Angelo, is now separated from it by a wet ditch. This was the original place of residence of the order of Malta, and where the Turks failed in their efforts against the knights. It indeed resisted all their assaults, and deservedly gained the name of *Citta Vittoriosa*, or the *Victorious City*. The minister from the court of Rome, who has the title of inquisitor, has a palace in this place: but all the other foreign ministers live in the city *Valetta*; in which, during the reign of the last grand-master, the inquisitor, by consent of the order, was likewise permitted to reside.

On the other point of land to the left is the Great Port. A fort and burgh have been erected; and though in fact it is only a peninsula, it is called the *Island of La Sangle*, from the name of the grand-master who fortified it. The inhabitants of this burgh, during the siege of Malta, resisted every bribe offered them by the Turks; and, continuing constantly faithful to the order, defended the place with so much valour, that it was sur-named *Citta Invitta* (the Invincible City). The point of land on which the city La Sangle is built, divides the galley port from the French port. Fort St. Michael is on the side next the land, and defends the two ports of La Sangle.



Near the city La Sangle is the suburb *Burmola*, now called *Citta Cospicua* (the Conspicuous City). This is commanded by St. Margaret's Hill, on which is a fort of the same name. The grand-master Nicholas Cotoner formed a plan, which he afterwards executed, of a considerable fortification, which, by being joined at each end to the city *La Sangle* and the Victorious City, should form a large square, into which the inhabitants of the country might retreat in case of being invaded by the enemy. "It is capable of making a long resistance" is the expression employed by the chevalier Folard, in his Commentary on Polybius ; where he relates, that, being summoned to Malta, he disapproved of the construction of a fort which was intended to be built and enclosed in what is called *La Cotoner*. This fortification consists of a succession of bastions without any advanced works.

There are two forts on the point of land on each side of Fort St. Elmo : the one called *Ricasoli* is intended, in conjunction with St. Elmo, for the defence of the entrance of the Great Port ; the other, lately built on Point Dragut, bears the name of Fort *Tigné*, and is meant to defend the point of Marsa-Musceit, and to prevent a landing from the sea coast. It was scarcely finished when the French invaded the island, in 1798.

The point of land on which St. Elmo is built, was formerly called *Sceb-e-ras*, signifying, in Arabic, *a place elevated above another*. It was also named *la Guardia*. The city *Valetta* is built on this spot ; and, in order to secure it still more effectually,



ally on the land side, a suburb, surrounded by fortifications, has been since erected, to which is given the name of *la Floriana*.

The island of Malta contains two principal cities, and twenty-two villages or *casals*—a name derived from the Arabian word *rahal*, signifying *station*; and which indicates the manner in which these villages have been composed by degrees, through the means of the stations, colonies, and meetings of labourers, who successively built cabins or houses in the country, in order to be nearer their different occupations. There are several hamlets between these villages, and a great many country houses.

The *Old* or *Notable* City still preserves the name of *Mdina* among the inhabitants; this signifies city, and it was the only one at that time in the island. It is the seat of the bishopric: and its most remarkable edifices are, the palace of the grand-master, built on the site of a fort taken down in 1455, by command of king Alphonso; and the cathedral, erected on the foundation of a palace, which, according to ancient tradition, was inhabited by Publius, prince or *protos* of the island at the time of St. Paul's shipwreck.

The body of the cathedral has been rebuilt in a modern taste, and is very little ornamented. The greatest part of the pictures are by Matthias Preti\*.

\* Matthias Preti, surnamed the Calabrian, was born in Calabria in 1613, and died in Malta in 1699. This painter studied originally under his brother, who was director of the Academy



The service of the cathedral was performed by canons, chosen alternately by the bishop and the pope. The habit they wore in the choir was a purple *capemagne*; they officiated with a mitre, and wore a golden cross on the breast. The nomination to the deanery of this chapter was formerly a royal one; but it has since been transmitted to the grand-master, with all the privileges annexed to the crown: Charles V. in the act of donation, alone reserved to himself the right of choosing the bishop, who wore the grand cross of the order, and held the first place in the council, though the constitutional law of the order did not acknowledge him for conventual bailiff.

The Old City had for governor a *hakem* or *podesta*, chosen by the grand-master out of the class of principal citizens. This governor bore the name of *captain of the rod*; because the sign of his jurisdiction was a rod. This civil and criminal jurisdiction extended over the old city, and the six following casals; Dingkle, Siggiri, Zebug, Stadard, Lia, and Mosta. After this tribunal had pronounced sentence, appeals might be made to the supreme court, which was held in the city Valetta.—The captain of the rod, when he accompanied the sovereign through the island, had the privilege of riding on horseback on the left

of St. Luke, at Rome; but he afterwards was taught by Guercino. He succeeded best in large pieces in fresco. His colouring is strong, but his shades too dark. His manner of painting is bold, and his heads and hands finely drawn. All his pictures are distinguished by a great style of composition, and majesty of invention. There is much richness in the minute parts, and great variety in the disposition: but he generally made choice of subjects as dismal as his colouring, and the ground of his pictures has frequently a bluish tint.



hand of the prince's carriage. The Town-hall of the old city was called Banca Dei Giurati. The municipality consisted of four jurats, and the bakem, who acted as president.

The catacombs in the Old City\* have always been celebrated; and, indeed, with the greatest justice. They are very extensive; and contain streets in all directions; which are formed with such a degree of regularity, that the title of Subterraneous City has been given to this place. Many of the different passages have been walled up, lest the curious spectator should lose himself in such a labyrinth. The entrance communicates to a house belonging to M. Pietro Greco, rector of the college (see Hoüel); from whence the descent is about eight or nine feet by a staircase three feet wide, leading to a kind of gallery, extremely narrow, and containing sepulchres of different sizes; some proportionably formed for infants, placed in different recesses on each side. These corridors are extremely irregular, divided into several passages, which branch out in various directions, and form apartments very much in the same style as the first, only more or less large, but all equally full of tombs. The roof or ceiling of one of these halls appearing to want support, a group of fluted pillars has been erected; but without either strength, taste, or regularity!—These catacombs are about twelve or fifteen feet below the surface of the rock in which they are cut. The stone is soft and porous, consequently subject to be easily penetrated by water: in order,

\* See Abela, for the plan of these catacombs.



therefore, to prevent the ill effects of such filtration, small gutters or trenches were made at the bottom of the lateral parts of the galleries; which were covered over in a manner for any person to walk upon them, and served as conduits for the different streams of water which met together, and were afterwards lost in places made purposely to receive them. By such means these caverns were kept perfectly dry, and were not dangerous to those who were forced to take shelter in them: the bodies were likewise easily let down for interment. The stone from which these catacombs were dug is of so soft a nature, that vegetables and shrubs grow in it. The roots of many of the latter, in the upper surface, have pierced through the rock, without splitting it: these appear to grow naturally, even to the height of twelve or fifteen feet; and are two, three, (sometimes more) lines in diameter. It is remarkable that the roots of the shrubs thus growing in the heart of the rock should be as large as if exposed to the open air; for it is natural to suppose that so confined a situation would impede their growth.—These catacombs are infinitely superior to those at Naples, which are merely excavations made at different times for procuring stone for building.

Near this city is the Grotto of St. Paul, a cave divided into three separate parts by iron grates. The altar is in the part furthest from the entrance; in which is also a beautiful statue of St. Paul, in white marble, the work of Caffa\*. The

\* Caffa (Melchior) was born in Malta, in 1635; and studied sculpture under Ferrata, at



second resembles the nave of a church; and is a rock where the vegetation is constant, yielding a peculiar sort of earth, famous for the cure of fevers. This earth is continually regenerating, is of an absorbent nature, and reckoned very efficacious as an alterative in all disorders occasioned by acrimonious humours. The entrance serves as a place of worship: in fact, the primitive Christians themselves who inhabited Malta made use of it as a church; and in 1507, a hermit having fixed his abode in this place, drew after him a great concourse of devout votaries.

The City Valetta is situate 13 degrees 40 minutes to the east of the meridian of Paris. The first stone was laid in 1566, and this spot particularly chosen on account of its elevated situation between the two great ports of the island. The plan was given by La Valette himself, though it was thought at the time to be drawn by Captain Laparelli. It is said that the original idea of the grand-master was only to enclose the convent, with all its dependences, within the walls; and towards the end of the century there was but too much reason to regret that such a plan had not been carried into execution.

The walls of this new city were no sooner traced out, than the inhabitants of the island, of all ages and both sexes, voluntarily employed themselves to complete a town, which in future

Rome. He became so celebrated an artist, that he was fixed upon to execute a work in Malta, representing the Baptism of our Saviour; which was to have been placed in St. John's church: but, after having finished models both large and small, he met with an accident, which prevented his completing his plan; but it has since been executed from his designs.



was not only to serve them as a place of defence, but to encrease their commerce and secure their possessions.

By a decree of council, this new city was called *La Valetta*: but it being customary at that time in Sicily to join a suitable epithet to the name of each town, the grand-master expressed his wishes that a truly Christian one, worthy the modesty of an order which prided itself alone in the cross of our Saviour, should be chosen; it was therefore called *Humilissima*.

La Valette dying in 1568, his successor, P. de Monté, completed the different works commenced during the glorious reign of the great defender of Malta and the Christian faith. The whole being entirely finished; on the 18th of May, 1571, the entire body of the order quitted the Burgh, where they had resided from their first arrival in Malta, and proceeded in a most solemn manner to their new habitation in the city Valetta.

Much less attention had been paid to the magnificence and convenience of the edifices within the walls, than to ensure the safety of the city by strong fortifications. The only church at that time was the *Chapel of Victory*; built by La Valette in commemoration of the raising the siege, and in honour of the Blessed Virgin.

It was intended to have erected a palace for the grand-master on the spot where the Italian and Castilian inns now stand; but P. de Monté preferred a house built by Eustache Dumont, in the principal square, and which has ever since been the residence of his successors.



A piece of ground was given to every different language for their respective Inns. The one belonging to the English language, since succeeded by the Anglo-Bavarian, was then on the spot now called *La Polverista*. A particular post was also assigned to each language, to defend in case of attack: these were as follow:—

Provence, the Cavalier, and Bulwark of St. John.

Auvergne, . . . . . Bulwark of St. Michael.

France, the Cavalier, . . . Bulwark of St. James.

Italy, . . . . . Bulwark of St. Paul and St. Peter.

Arragon, . . . . . Bulwark of St. Andrew.

England, . . . . . the Platform of St. Lazarus.

Germany, . . . . . Bulwark of St. Sebastian.

Castille, . . . . . Bulwark of St. Barbara.

There are three gates to this city, viz. *La Reale* (Royal), the *Marine*, and the gate towards Marsa Musceit. The principal street reaches from the Royal Gate to the Castle of St. Elmo, and the others are built in a straight line parallel to the former; the whole paved with flat square stones. The pavement was however extremely bad till the year 1771, and many of the houses very inconvenient from having steps in the front: but the streets have since been levelled at a great expence, and subterraneous channels dug to carry off all impurities, and at the same time to open a passage for rain water; in short, to make conduits to convey fountain water into all the public and private cisterns throughout the city.—The greatest part of



the inhabitants being unable to provide for so enormous an expence, the public treasury advanced money to forward these improvements; by which means the city La Valetta is now magnificently paved, and the houses cleared from steps, which were not only inconvenient but extremely unsightly, and rendered the passage through the streets both embarrassing by day and dangerous by night.

Besides private cisterns to every house, there are likewise public ones; together with a fountain, the source of which is in the southern part of the island, but the water conveyed by an aqueduct, built at a considerable expence by the grand-master Aloff de Vignacourt. This aqueduct from Diar Chandal, where it commences, to the square before the grand-master's palace, is 7478 canes\* of eight palms each, in length. It having suffered extremely from the ravages of time, the grand-master Rohan repaired, and indeed partly rebuilt it, from his own private purse. The manner in which the water of this fountain is conveyed has been already described; and if the winter rains are not sufficient to fill the cisterns, it affords a constant supply.

The houses are neat, and built of handsome stone; the roofs forming a flat terrace plastered with pozzolana, with pipes conducting to the cisterns, by which means every drop of rain water is preserved. Most of the houses have a balcony advancing into the street, where the inhabitants pass a great part of their time.

\* A cane is nine feet.



The parish-churches in the city Valetta, and the chapels belonging to the different convents of religious orders, are daily ornamented by gifts of the Maltese, who have always been celebrated for a never-failing piety and devotion: they even continue the ancient custom of the African Christians in the time of the Romans, who used to engrave crosses with the point of a needle, in order to distinguish them from the Gentiles.

The church of St. John, built by the grand-master La Cassiere, and afterwards consecrated by D. Ludovico Torr s, archbishop of Montreal, was greatly enriched by presents made to it every five years by the sovereign, and all the grand-priors of the order. The first general chapter held at Malta assigned a separate chapel in this church to every language: these form the two aisles of a tolerably large nave, all the carved ornaments of which are gilded with sequin gold at the expence of the grand-master Coloner. The pictures in this church are almost all by Matthias Preti; whose talents ought to have induced the order to have received him as a knight by favour, of the language of Italy. Every compartment of the roof, between the pillars of the chapel, is ornamented by a picture representing the different events of the life of St. John: the greatest part of them are incomparably fine.

The pavement of the church is composed of sepulchral stones of inlaid marble of different colours. Nothing can be more magnificent than several of these monuments; some of



which are incrusted with jasper, agate, and other precious stones, and cost more than a thousand pounds sterling.

The principal altar is placed at a distance from all the others, in the middle of the choir ; at the further end of which is a group in marble upon a raised basis, representing our Saviour baptised by St. John. There is a fine picture, though unfortunately injured by smoke, painted by Michael Angelo de Caravaggio \*, in a chapel called the Oratory, the entrance of which was formerly the chapel of the language of England. St. John's hand is kept in this oratory ; a most precious relick, presented by the Turkish emperor Bajazet, to D'Aubusson, the grand-master of Rhodes †.

\* Michael Angelo was surnamed Caravaggio, from a castle in the Milanese, where he was born in 1560. He died in 1609. He was the son of a mason, and his original occupation was preparing colours for the use of painters in fresco. He afterwards went to Venice, where Giorgione resided, whose colouring he sometimes imitated. He had no conception of ideal beauty ; and when he painted a hero, he copied from a porter. He always said the originals of his pictures were to be found in the streets : like Rembrandt ; who used to display a collection of old clothes, saying, “ These are my *antiques*.” Though he certainly might have chosen better models, it was impossible to paint them finer ; and he succeeded so well in portraits, that his style became fashionable. Valentin adopted his manner ; Guercino constantly, and even Guido did the same. The masterpiece of Michael Angelo was indisputably a portrait of the grand-master Alof Vignacourt : this has even been compared to the portraits of Titian, for the strength, truth, and softness of the colouring. The heads of both the grand-master and page are admirable. This picture was engraved by Lermessin, but feebly executed.

† St. John's hand was preserved at Constantinople in a church built by Justinian, who removed it to a church in Antioch. This relick and many others were preserved by Mahomet II. at the capture of Constantinople. Bajazet, who trembled for his newly acquired throne, wished to be on friendly terms with D'Aubusson, then grand-master of Rhodes, and become very celebrated during the preceding reign by a great victory over the infidels : he therefore presented him with St. John's hand, for which he had repeatedly refused the offer of other princes. It will appear in the course of this history, in what manner the French restored this hand to the grand-master on his quitting Malta.



The chapel dedicated to the Virgin, contains two *ex votos* of immense value; and was lighted by a golden lamp, fastened to the roof by a long chain of the same metal. There are many different articles in the treasury of this church, not only extremely valuable, but of the greatest antiquity and finest workmanship. None of these, however, were spared by the French; who, from the first moment of their arrival, began to carry away, during the night, every thing made of gold or silver, in order to convert them into ingots.

The exterior of the church of St. John was by no means equal to the inside, which was so magnificent, and at the same time so curiously elegant, that they even imitated the pattern of the paintings on the ceiling, in the colours of the tapestry displayed on great festivals.

The ceremonies observed in this church, performed with great pomp and decorum, were particularly splendid. The canopy under which was placed the grand-master, was in the sanctuary next the evangelist; and the grand-crosses were on benches below the communion-table. The knights, and all persons attached to the service of the order, were ranged along the sides of the church; and, leaving an open space in the middle, added extremely to the beauty of the *coup d'oeil*. The prior of St. John officiated in his episcopal habit; and whilst he was at the altar, one of the acolytes was employed in refreshing him by means of a large fan of feathers, with a handle of burnished gold.

One festival, in particular, was celebrated with the most



solemn pomp. As a knight of Malta, I feel too sensibly how cruelly painful it is to be forced to speak on the subject; but such was the purity of its institution, and so grand its object, that it is impossible to pass it over in silence.

On the 8th of every September, the anniversary of the raising the siege of Malta was constantly celebrated; and no one could possibly carry the victorious standard to the foot of the altar without feeling a sentiment of the profoundest respect. This part of the ceremony was announced by warlike music, and a discharge of artillery from all the different forts. The standard was carried by a knight wearing a helmet and a habit in the form of those worn in the crusades of old: on his left hand marched a page bearing the sword and poinard sent by Philip II. of Spain to La Vallette; and on the right was the marshal, accompanied by the whole language of Auvergne, to whose knights the grand standard is particularly confided. A fine portrait of the grand-master was exhibited to the people on that day, and viewed by them with every sentiment of admiration and respect. This portrait belongs to the language of Provence, and was painted by the commander Favray\*.

The other churches were likewise richly decorated, and contained fine pictures. In the fourth chapel of the church of St. Dominick, to the left, was a picture of St. Rose, by the Calabrian. In the second chapel of the church formerly belonging to the jesuits, were three pictures, representing the

\* This modern painter has left some very fine pictures at Malta.



principal events of the life of St. Peter, viz. : the angel delivering him from prison ; his parting scene with St. Paul ; and his crucifixion. These were the *chef d'oeuvres* of the above-mentioned artist. There was also a picture by the same hand in the second chapel of the church of the Carmelites, representing St. Roch and the Blessed Virgin : the head of the latter not well executed.

Several families from Rhodes having followed the body of the order to Malta, and many of the Greeks having been since established in the island, it was ordained that divine service according to the rites of the Greek religion should be performed in one of the parish churches, and that the curate should have the title of *Papas*. This church enjoys a great number of privileges, which have been granted as rewards to the Greeks for their services during the siege of Malta.

The public edifices in Malta consist of the Palace of the grand-master, the Hôtels or Inns of the different languages, the Conservatory, the Treasury, the University, the Town-hall, the Palace of Justice, the Hospital, and the Barracks, all of which are built with much simplicity : the opinion of *Houel* may indeed be adopted with justice, for two qualities certainly distinguish the Maltese architecture ; the one, a most exquisite taste in the composition of the general mass ; and the other, a noble plainness in the *minutiæ*. The front of the Provençal Inn, and that of the Conservatory, are the most remarkable for their style of architecture. One part of the latter edifice



serves for the public library ; which useful establishment was first instituted by the bailli de Tencin, in 1760, who during his life-time furnished it with nine thousand seven hundred volumes, which he had collected at a considerable expence. His portrait is in the library, which was founded for perpetuity by the last general chapter, held in 1776. It has been very greatly augmented since that time ; and in 1790, consisted of sixty thousand volumes. Books were constantly arriving from all parts ; it having been decreed, that at the decease of a knight of Malta, in whatsoever country he resided, his books should be sent to the public library.

The body of the library is handsome : and there is a museum adjoining divided into several cabinets, which contains a great variety of interesting objects ; such as a large collection of ancient and modern medals ; a few vases ; the antiquities of the island ; with some marbles, amongst which is one brought from Greece. The subject of this latter has been ingeniously explained by the abbé Navarro, who has determined the opinion of the learned concerning *Neotéra*. This goddess, whose generic name had been falsely applied to Cleopatra, is in reality *Livia*, or *Julia Augusta*, the mother of Tiberius, who was denominated the *New Goddess*, from being the first mortal ranked by the Romans among the Gods. Her grandson Claudius issued an edict, that she should be solemnly worshipped throughout the empire, and have altars and vestals dedicated to her service. This piece of marble likewise fixes the epoch not



only of *Spon's* marble, but of several others dated during the priesthood of Claudius Timotheus; which priesthood, according to this explanation, was in the time of Tiberius Claudius Lysias, chiliarch of Jerusalem\*.

There were two fine pictures in the Inn belonging to the language of France; the one, the Conversion of St. Paul, by Giuseppe d'Arpino; and the other, the Public Entry of the grand-master L'Isle Adam, by the commander De Favray: likewise two fine portraits of the grand-masters La Valette and Rohan, in the Provençal Inn.

The treasury contained all the accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the order; also a picture of Christ by Albert Durer, a fine portrait of the secretary of the treasury, and a Virgin by Concha.

The hospital consists of several large airy apartments, and of immense storehouses, which would contain four times the

\* The following is the Latin Inscription.  
 ( . . . . . HONORAVIT)  
 HIEROPHANTIN NOVENSILIS. (DIVAE)  
 CLAVDIAM. PHILOXENAM.  
 TIBERI. CLAVDI (LYSIAS)  
 PATRONI MELITENSIS. FILIAM.  
 QVAE. ARAM. NOVENSILIS. DIVAE.  
 ARGENTO. ORNAVIT.  
 CVRANTE. DEDICATIONEM. (STATVAE)  
 FILIO. EJUS. TI. CLAVDIO. LYSIADE.  
 TIBERI. CLAUDI. PATRONI. MELITENSIS.  
 FILIO. (ADOPTIVO)  
 SUB-SACERDOTE. CLAVDIA. TIMOTHEOS.

For the explanation, see *Diariam Florent Die 2 Octob. 1789*, and *Ephemerides Roman. Die 20. ejusdem mensis, &c.*



number of beds at present employed. This asylum is constantly open for the reception of the sick of all countries and religions; who are treated with every possible attention, and furnished with medicines and comforts of every kind. The knights not only inspect the different branches of the administration (the head of which is one of the first dignitaries of the order), but successively attend the sick, of whom more than two thousand are annually discharged cured from the hospital. The utensils employed are almost all silver; but of such plain workmanship as sufficiently proves that this magnificence was adopted from a motive of cleanliness, and not as an object of luxury.

The grand-master's palace is an immense mass of building; which, though unornamented, makes an imposing appearance. The apartments are large and convenient: most of the Frieries are painted by Giuseppo d'Arpino's two principal pupils; there are also views of the siege of Malta, by Matteo da Lecce. In the chapel is the Birth of the Blessed Virgin, by Treviran. The armoury was handsome; and ornamented with trophies on the walls, disposed with admirable taste. At one end is an extremely fine cuirass damasked with gold, which belonged to the grand-master Alose de Vignacourt\*, whose portrait at full length, by Michael Angelo de Carravaggio, hangs over it; the latter is in excellent preservation, and is looked upon as the master-piece of that artist. The grand-master's gallery con-

\* See in Vol. II. the drawing of the upper part of this picture.



tained a great number of pictures: among those allowed to be originals, are our Saviour by Guido; the Death of Abel, by Espagnolet; and many others, by the Calabrian. There are likewise three marble basso-relievos: the first representing Penthesilia (Pl. IV. fig. 2.), the famous queen of the Amazons, who, in order to revenge the death of Hector, boldly advanced to the walls of Troy to fight Achilles. The second is Julia, (Pl. IV. fig. 3.), Cicero's daughter; and Claudia, the wife of Cicilius Metellus; who both lived at the same time, and were much celebrated. Julia was distinguished by her great learning; and Claudia was the Lesbia of Catullus. The third represents Zenobia (Pl. IV. fig. 3.), the wife of Odenatus, king of Palmyra: she reigned during her son's minority; and the epithet *Domina* at the bottom of this basso-relievo, is in conformity with the *Dominus*, which Aurelian substituted for that of Emperor and Augustus. Zenobia, having conquered Egypt, assumed this title; and greatly as she had despised the predecessors of Aurelian, saw herself constrained, in the year 274, to grace the triumph of that emperor, as a prisoner.

These basso-relievos were inserted into the walls of the galleries facing the windows, with the names of the persons they were supposed to represent. It appears most probable, that the heads formerly made part of a collection of female figures: but they were in too moderate a style to have been the production of those happy times when the arts flourished in perfection; they were consequently the performance of other ages,



when those arts unfortunately were fallen to decay. Their antiquity being disputed, the abbé Navarro proved it incontestably in a dissertation printed in 1778.

It is as yet impossible to say, with any degree of certainty, what still remains of the different monuments of the arts in the city Valetta ; though it is but too well known, that every article in gold and silver has been carried off from the churches, and the ancient municipal government suppressed, though so essential to the preservation of the inhabitants, that it would have been infinitely more prudent to have permitted it to have remained in its original form. The council of the city, called the *University*, was presided by the senechal, an officer belonging to the grand-master, who always named the other magistrates, termed *jurats*. The university exercised other functions, equally important with the municipal ones. Before the establishment of the order in Malta, it was exclusively charged with the purchase of corn for the consumption of the whole island. This part of the administration was termed *Massa frumentaria* ; and it enjoyed the same privilege under the government of the knights.

The population afterwards prodigiously encreasing, and the number of the wealthy being greatly multiplied, the university was obliged to make a much more considerable provision of corn, and consequently to advance large sums for that purpose. To provide for this additional expence, recourse was



had to loans: and the ease with which they were negotiated, produced an excellent effect on the minds of the people; since it inspired the Maltese with so great a degree of confidence, that instead of placing their money elsewhere as formerly, they were quite eager to lend to the university, which by these means was enabled to build storehouses where a sufficient quantity of corn might always be kept, not only to ensure the inhabitants from the misery of famine, but at the same time to enable it to sell corn at a moderate price. The grain was preserved in extremely large pits hollowed in the rock; with beds of wood and straw placed at the bottom, on which it was spread. When these were entirely filled, they were closed by a large stone, which was plastered over with puzzolana; the corn thus kept from the air, might be preserved perfectly good a hundred years. One of these pits was discovered filled with corn, which had been forgotten for a great length of time; and the grain near the surface had alone suffered from the damp, the rest being in excellent preservation. Corn is kept in the same kind of pits in Sicily, and Malta had likewise others in that island; for it is well known that, according to different treaties, Sicily was obliged to furnish a certain quantity of corn free from all export duties. But the population of Malta having been quintupled in the space of a century, it was very insufficient to supply the wants of that island, which was forced to solicit the free exportation of a much larger quantity: this re-



quest occasioned frequent disputes, and was subject to very great difficulties.

The university made such a good use of its funds, that its credit encreased surprisingly; and it could always borrow any sums of money whatsoever at three *per cent.* whilst private individuals were obliged to pay six, which indeed was the interest fixed by the law. The university became by degrees possessed of very considerable funds; and would have been extremely rich, had not some of the last grand-masters made use of their influence to drain it of sums, which never afterwards returned into its coffers.



## CHAP. III.

*Malta divided into two Parts. Description (by way of Itinerary) of the most remarkable Places: as the Boschetto; ancient Ruts; Mountains and Fountains in the Neighbourhood of Casal Zebug; St. Antony's; Ruins of Ghorghenti; Hagiar Kan; Excavation near Makluba; Ruins of a Greek House at Casal Zorrick; ancient Tower at Gudia; Kasar; Ruins of the Temple of Hercules.*

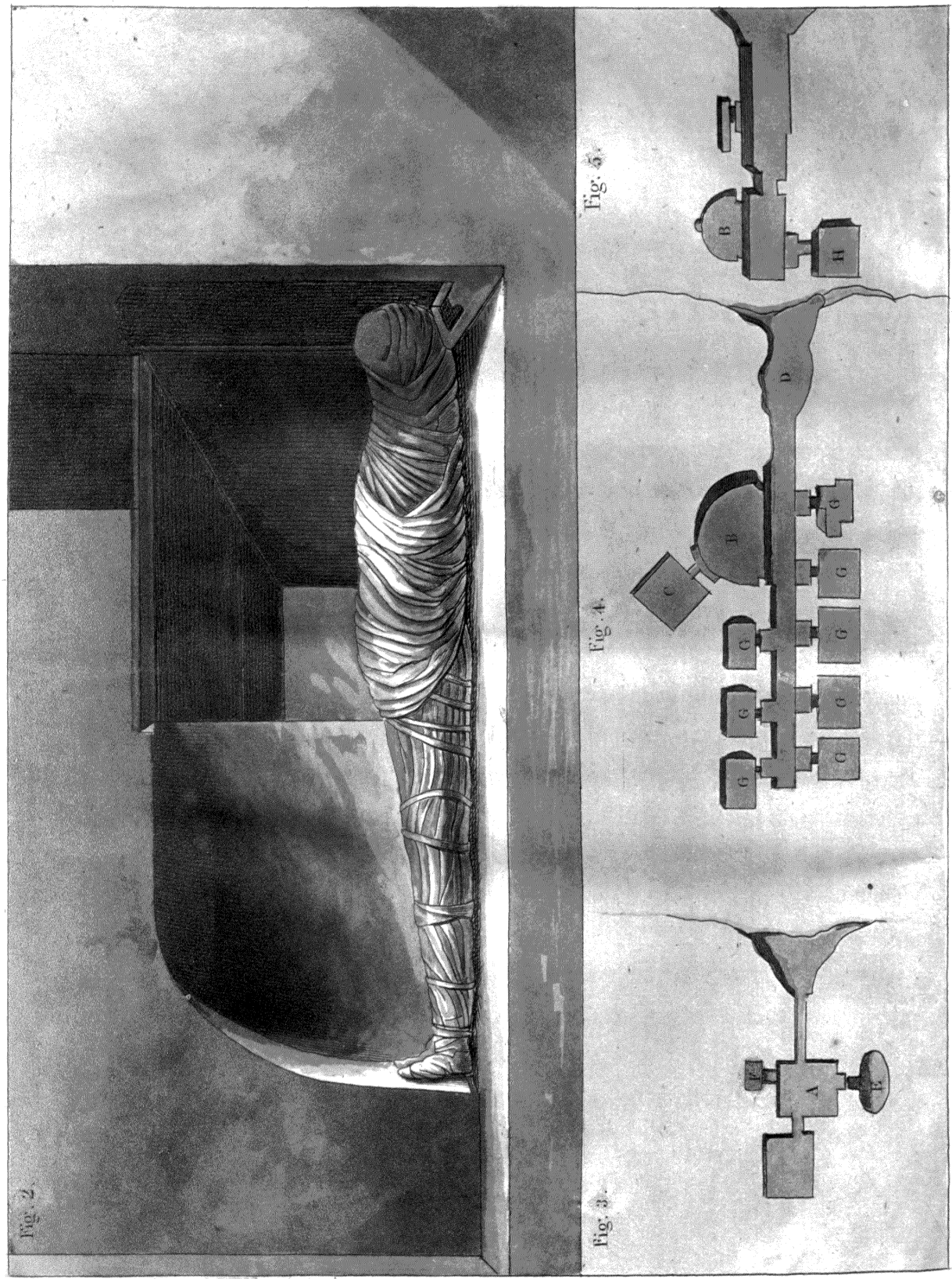
THE island of Malta is divided into two very unequal parts; the one to the east, and the other to the west, of the old city. All the casals are in the eastern division, which is much larger than that to the west; the latter merely containing some country-houses, though there are in it a variety of picturesque scenes. But the air towards the coasts being unwholesome, and there being a scarcity of land capable of cultivation, farmers are not tempted to reside in it. There are, however, some valleys tolerably well wooded and watered; quarries of a very hard sort of stone; a hill named *Ta ben Gemma*; the ruins of St. Publius's country-house; and a spot called *Nyed el Osel*, or Torrent of Honey, because numerous beehives were formerly kept there, and the produce of the bees was very great. The whole of this part of the island abounds with odoriferous plants. There are also considerable salt-works, the revenue of which is the property of the grand-master.

*Kaalata Abia* is an elevated spot of ground, where, during









*Plan and Interior of Tombs in the Benigemma Mountains.*

Published by J. W. Robinson, London, May 1854.









Fig. 1.

*Interior of Tombs in the Bengemmar Mountains.*

Published by G. & J. Robinson London May 1834.



the time of the Arabs, some slaves, having escaped their chains, posted themselves, and having fortified the place, strenuously defended their liberty. This western division extends no farther than *Melleha Port* : near which is a cave called the Grotto of *Calypso*, sufficiently curious to deserve a particular description ; as do likewise the *Bengemma Mountains*, which are extremely worthy the attention of a curious traveller. The summit forms a plain, where a town formerly stood. Though there are no remains left, and though no historian who has treated of Malta, not even Abela, has ever made mention of the circumstance, yet the appearance of every thing around these mountains sufficiently proves they were once inhabited by a powerful and ingenious race well skilled in the arts ; for, facing the chapel dedicated to *Our Lady of the Letter*, there are at least a hundred sepulchral grottos : (Pl. V). On the outside of some are small black cavities ; which, closely examined, appear to have been made as ornaments to the doors ; whilst the others present to view nothing but the roughness of the rock, broken by time in a very irregular manner, but which, according to all appearance, likewise served for a place of entrance.

Some of these grottos are of easy access ; and a part, probably once serving as a burying-place, is deeply dug into the rock. It is impossible not to be struck by the beauty of these small tombs, the exquisite taste of their composition, and the highly finished manner in which they are executed : they may, indeed, be esteemed the finest and most elegant monuments



existing of so small a size \*. There are different fountains in the environs; which, together with the appearance of the coast, furnish additional reasons for imagining that this place, now but bad pasture land, was formerly the residence of opulent inhabitants.

*The Grotto of Calypso.* (Pl. XVI.) The title bestowed on this cave must ever recall to remembrance that delightful spot, so enchantingly sung by the poets; and such is its situation, that the particular description given by these writers is very applicable to it.

This habitation, cut out of the rock on the side of a moderately high mountain, consists of two stories of apartments, the one immediately over the other; and a grotto below, forming the ground floor, with stairs leading up to the different rooms above. Some of the walls are fallen in, whilst others remain entire; and many of the chambers in the second story are still habitable.

The grotto at the foot of the rock is principally formed by nature: a spring of clear and excellent water spouts forth at the farthest end, which must have greatly tended to invite inhabitants. In the beginning of the 17th century, this place served as a residence for some hermits; but no one, at present,

\* See in Plate V. three figures of these tombs: one of which represents a man bearing on his shoulders a dead body in a horizontal posture, and who seems to be assisted by another man, who does not appear; in the second, the corpse is laid out, and wrapped in a sheet or shroud fastened with strings; the third represents the manner in which these different tombs are disposed.—(See Houel, page 112.)





*Bird's-eye View of the Works erected at the foot of Calvary.*

Published by J. & W. Smith, London, 1854.







dwells in this delightful and retired spot. There is a fine and extensive prospect of the sea from the top of the mountain: the island of Goza presents itself to view in the midst of the vast expanse, and Cumin is seen still nearer to the shore; which, joined to the other parts of Malta, form altogether the most interesting, rich, and varied *coup d'oeil* in the whole island. This place has also (as has been already observed) the advantage of being situated near one of the best ports in Malta.

There are twenty-two principal casals in the eastern part, viz.: Dingkli, Mosta, Nasciar, Ghargul, Itard, Zebug, Balran, Lia, Bircarcaro, Qurmms, Paula, Siggeui, Qrendi, Zorrick, Qergop, Gudia, Mqab, Luca, Tarscien, Zabbar, Zeitua, and Ghasciay.

All civil and criminal causes in the country and casals in Malta, might be carried before either the court of justice or castelany of the city La Valetta: except, indeed, those which belonged particularly to the jurisdiction of the Captain of the Rod's court in the old city; such as Dingkli, Siggeui, Zebug, Itard, Lia, and Mosta.

In order to describe as accurately as possible every thing the most remarkable in the eastern division, I shall begin at the casal Dingkli, the most southern part of the island, proceed to Mosta, and thus continue from one casal to another, describing at the same time the neighbourhood of each particular village.



*Dingkli*, takes its name from that of a Maltese family.

*The Boschetto.* The country round this residence (which belonged to the grand-master) is seen at a great distance ; and is commanded by a kind of castle, with four towers at the corners, which at a distance make a singular appearance : at the bottom, towards the south, is a hanging road, partly cut out of the rock, which leads to the entrance of the garden.

The Boschetto itself is situated in a deep and extensive valley ; and is the only spot in the whole island which can boast of tolerably large fruit-trees of different kinds ; the greatest part, however, do not bear. Nature has so disposed them as to form pleasant walks ; and there is a charming contrast between these trees of a wild growth, and the oranges, lemons, cedars, and bergamots, ranged with the greatest symmetry in avenues and arbours. What adds to the beauty of this spot, is a variety of springs of fresh water, so aptly dispersed as to afford a degree of coolness unequalled in any other part of the island.

On each side, and behind the pavilion in the garden, are different buildings. The entrance to these is by a flight of steps, and they contain courts filled with animals of different kinds. One of these courts was once covered with brass wiring, and formed a large aviary for ostriches, Chinese gold-pheasants, and other curious birds. The part in which the pavilion stands, was full of red and fallow deer ; as also antelopes, remarkable for their elegant form and their activity.



At the distance of a mile from the *Boschetto*, towards the sea, is a very elevated spot of ground ; on the southern side of which are the vestiges of wheels, that have cut into the rock, and may be traced to the sea.

These ruts are from four to six inches wide, and from ten to twelve or fifteen deep : they traverse a large extent of ground, the surface of which is entirely rocky. On approaching the shore, the soil takes an inclined direction ; and the ruts may be perceived under the water at a great distance, and to a great depth ; indeed, as far as the eye can possibly distinguish any thing through the waves. This circumstance gives every reason to suppose, that the ground must have sunk very considerably in this spot.

As no traces of either mules or horses appear between the ruts, it is most probable that the carriages were drawn by men.

*The Bishop's Gardens* ; near which are some grottos formerly inhabited by the wandering fortune-tellers, commonly called *Zingari*, Bohemians, or gypsies.

*Ghar Kbir*, a spacious cave, serving, for a great length of time, for a dwelling for whole families of peasants, who were doubtless too poor to build houses, and whom Kircher (who was in Malta during the mastership of Verdale), in his work on the Subterraneous World, distinguishes by the name of *Troglodytes*, in order to give them some degree of celebrity.

*Bir Zegrella*, a spring said to have a febrifuge quality.



*Necriet*, a small hamlet.

*El Mitarsa*, a hill, on which, according to an ancient tradition, stood the Temple of Proserpine.

*Kirbu el Thut*, or the Jew's sepulchre. These brokers from every different nation were tempted to visit Malta, in hopes of enriching themselves by commerce; but Ferdinand the Catholic banished them from the island in 1494.

*Mosta*. This village was plundered by the Corsairs in 1526.

*Baydar el Blat*. The plain where the Turkish generals planted the royal standard, when, raising the siege, they strove to rally their troops on their taking to flight and hastily re-embarking.

*Hal Dhiesil*, a deserted village.

*Nasciar*, the casal inhabited by the first Christians: it is very handsome, and contains some pleasant gardens.

*Ghargul*, or casal Gregory.

*Uyed el dis*, *Uyed el Gamit*, *Uyed el Klir*; three valleys planted with vines and trees.

*Manua* and *Bord*, two inconsiderable villages.

*Itard*. This casal takes its name from a Maltese family.

*Tabira*, a fief chosen by the grand-master Lascaris, for erecting mills, on account of a great variety of springs, which furnish running water in abundance.

*Zebug*, situated on a hill, from seven hundred to eight hundred fathoms long, reckoning from south to north, and not



more than two hundred in its whole surface. This casal is a most interesting object to the curious. On the highest part of the rock are three fountains, situated at the distance of between thirty and fifty feet from each other. There is likewise a grotto dripping water in the driest seasons; the roof is only eight or nine feet above the upper part of the mountain, which is by no means the only one that has springs on its summit: this can be attributed to no other cause than the disposition of the pores in the constituent parts of the rock, which having the faculty of absorbing the vapours of the atmosphere, and dissolving them into water, they force a passage through different apertures, and form fountains more or less abundant. The truth of this observation will be more clearly proved, when I shall treat of a rock named *Sasso di San Paolo*.

*Santa Maria tal Chilas*, or Saint Mary of Child-birth: this church is held in high veneration by the Maltese.

*Sant Antonio*, a country-house belonging to the grand-master: the garden contained three thousand orange-trees, the fruit of which sold annually for two thousand Maltese crowns\*.

*Balzan*. This village is surrounded by olive and almond trees.

*Lia*. The name of a Maltese family.

*Aarar*, an ancient village, deserted by its inhabitants

\* Value two shillings each.



on account of the frequent incursions of the Corsairs, who were continually landing on the neighbouring coast.

*Saint Julian's Church*; near which an alabaster quarry was discovered in the reign of the grand-master Pinto.

*Bircarcara*, signifying *Lime-pit*. This casal has a collegiate church.

*Hal Caprat*, the ruins of an ancient village.

*Qurmi*, or the *City Pinto*. It derives its original name from being formerly in a vineyard; and, on account of its vicinity to the city Valetta. Many ovens for baking bread have been erected there, whence it is likewise called *Casal Fornaro*.

*Ayn Filep*, a spring, which formerly furnished water for the use of ships sailing from the port of Malta.

*Kortin*, a hill; at the bottom of which some remains of antique baths were found in an excavation made in 1729.

*Corradin*, the stables of the grand-master.

*Paula*, formerly *Casal Nuovo*, built during the reign of De Paule.

*Farragi*, a small village.

*Siggeui*, signifying *repose*.

*Ghorghenti* consists merely in the ruins of some houses, the walls of which had been built on the naked rock, and in some cisterns hollowed out of the same rock. There are also some small springs or fountains towards the port, and large stones scattered here and there. Every thing seems to prove that the village called Ghorghenti was situated in this place.



According to ancient tradition, it was particularly consecrated to the use of the inhabitants of Agrigentum, who disembarked their merchandise at this port when Phalaris was the ally of the Maltese.

*Aayn el Khira*, the inquisitor's country-house.

*Ghartuta*, a grotto; near which are the ruins of different edifices built with stones of an enormous size.

*Hal Tabuni*, a ruined village.

*Rahal Kbir*. This village, if we may judge from its name, was formerly large, but is now very inconsiderable.

*S. Maria tal Kneis*, the ruins of an old Greek church.

*Biar Blat*, *Talenik*, *Taltami*, and other neighbouring places, containing immense cisterns.

*Hagiar Kan*, likewise called *Agiar Kim*. The walls, partly rectangular partly circular, are only elevated one single tier above the rock on which they are built. They extend to a great distance from south to north; and their colossal construction clearly proves, there was a considerable habitation on this spot. Near it are other ruined walls, consisting likewise of only one layer of stones. These are perpendicular, and from twelve to fourteen feet high, and three or four thick. To the north of these walls is a stone eighteen feet in height; and to the west, near the coast, the ruins of another square edifice, built in the same manner; the different fronts of which are composed of stones in the style of the Giant's Tower in Goza. These fronts are about seven fathoms broad, and fifteen feet



high. At the distance of eight or nine fathoms is another in a circular form, in which the door-ways are still to be seen. The most considerable edifice in this neighbourhood is called *Tadarnadur Isrica*, (Pl. VII.) It is a perfect circle, nearly a hundred feet in diameter. Among the great number of stones which compose this building, only five remain upright; these, however, give an idea of its height: four of them are placed vertically, each being eighteen feet high. They still remain strongly connected together: one stone, which has fallen to the ground, is twenty feet long; which gives reason to believe that the others were of the same length.

The foundations of walls running in lines across the extent of this vast enclosure are still to be traced in different places, and it is to be supposed they made parts of houses. Houel confesses that this is the most considerable monument of the kind he ever saw in the whole course of his travels.

*Rahal Sciluk*, a small village.

*Qrendi*.

*Makluba*. Near St. Matthew's chapel is a most remarkable excavation of a circular form, twenty fathoms deep, and from twenty-five to thirty in diameter. The most extraordinary circumstance is, that, though this cavity is in the solid rock, a garden has been made in it: this is at times deluged with water, and when that happens it takes ten or twelve days to dry. The sea is more than a hundred feet below the bottom of this excavation. The coast on this side of the island is full



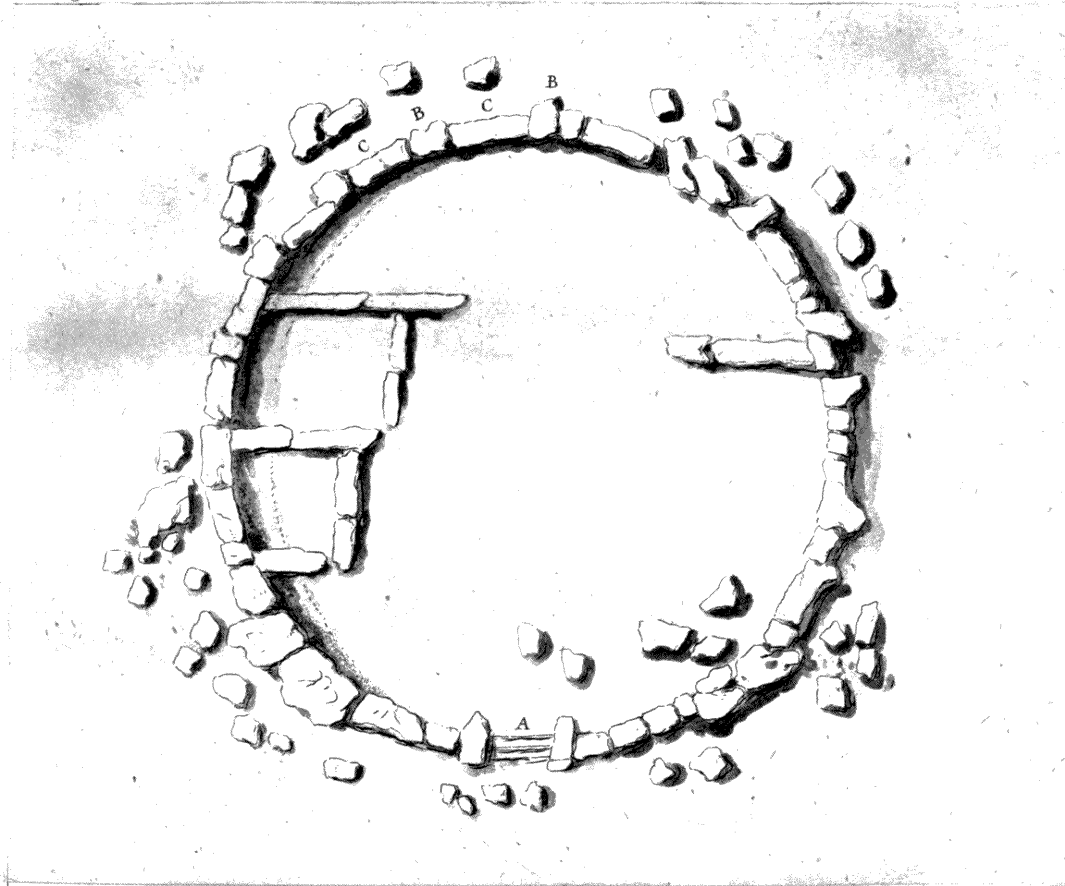
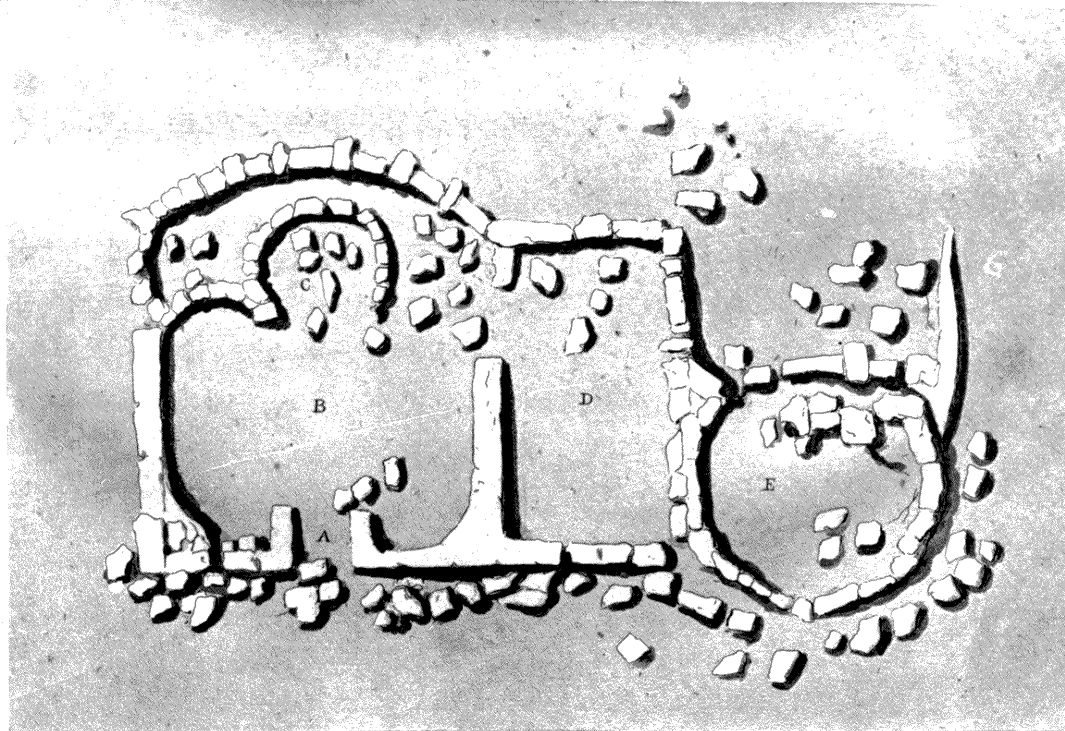


Fig. 3.



Plan of an ancient Building in a circular form, called Indar, Nadur, Izira.

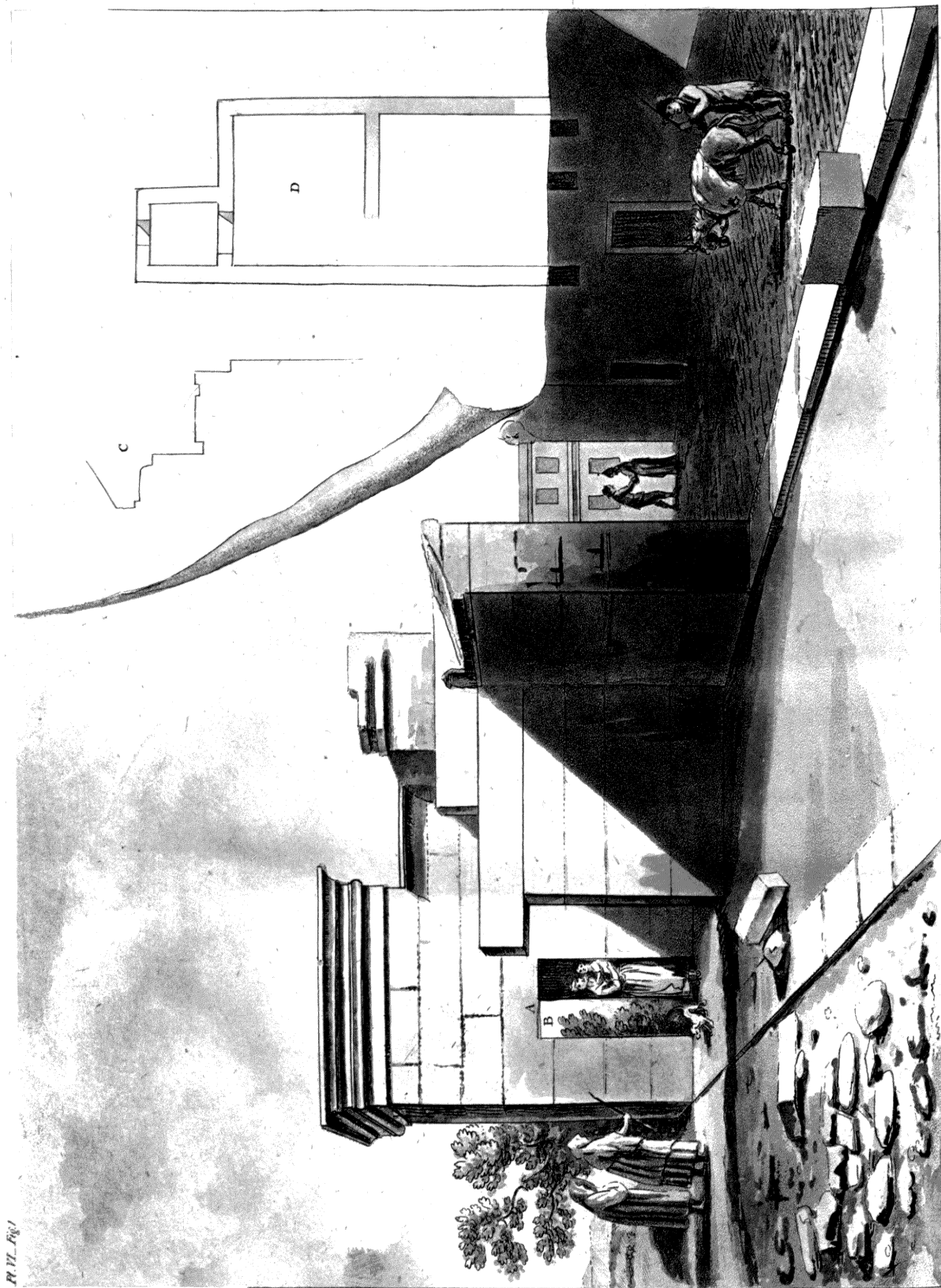












*Remains of a House in the Grecian style of Architecture at Caud Zorich.*

Published by J. & L. Robinson, London, May 1. 1804.



of grottos, the rocks being for the most part craggy. A mile farther to the east towards the sea, and at the very farthest extremity of this perpendicular rock, a superb arch reversed is formed by the same rock towards the coast. This has a wonderfully fine effect, from its enormous altitude and the regularity of its form.

There is a small uninhabited island near this place, called the *Black Stone* : though the whole extent is not more than two or three acres, it is said to have been inhabited in former times.

*Hal Scych*, a ruined village, near a hamlet called *Milleri*.

*Zorrick*. In a garden belonging to the curate of this casal are the beautiful remains of a Greek edifice, (Pl. VI.) According to the observations of Houel, who has published a fine engraving of this ruin, it appears to be the remains of a private Greek house, and the only one of the kind he ever met with in his travels. The part in the highest preservation is a square tower, nine feet in front on each side, and about seventeen high, including the cornice. It has only one window and a folding door. The walls are of fine stone, nicely cut, and exactly fitted, and surrounded by a small cornice, elegantly executed in the true Grecian style. On the road from this garden to casal Qrendi is a fine cistern to the right in the arable land covered with large stones supported by well-built arcades. This cistern communicates with another by a door: the latter is dug at the distance of six fathoms from the former, and the stones which cover it are supported by pillars. By the side of



the way to the nearest *casal* are the remains of a wall sixty feet in length, which consist of only three layers of large and fine stones. This village takes its name from *Zirieck*, which signifies *blue*, the eyes of almost all the inhabitants being of that colour. They are in general fond of hunting and shooting; but when the season prevents their taking these diversions, they pass their time in spinning cotton. The air of this place is particularly wholesome. There are two extremely fine pictures in the church: Saint Andrew, by Mathias Preti; and the Death of Saint Catherine, by Matheo da Lecci.

*Cenus tal Mansah*, a piece of ground where they take falcons in a net.

*Bubakera*, a tolerably large village.

*Ghar Hassan*, a large cave in a rock above the sea; the access is very difficult.

*Sasi*. The name of this village signifies *pure*, and it was the only one free from the contagious distemper which made such terrible ravages in 1676.

*Qergop*.

*Torre ta Gianhar*, an old tower, supposed to be built by the Arabs.

*Gudia*, signifying high ground. At this place are the ruins of a tower built of large stones; which, though irregular, is less so than other edifices of the same kind: it is called in Arabic *Giauard*, signifying *jewel* or *pearl*, perhaps from its being better built than the others.—The layers of stones are not all equally



high; some of them are thirty-three inches, and the walls are three feet six inches thick. An urn of baked earth filled with Roman copper medals was found in this place; but, as there was no local inscription, it gave no insight into the history of the tower.

Three hundred paces from thence to the west, near a small Gothic chapel dedicated to St. Anthony, is the base of a little ancient edifice, which appears to be of Grecian architecture; it is about nine fathoms in length, near thirty-three feet wide, and built of very large stones rudely piled. A cistern, twenty-three feet deep and nine wide, is cut out of a rock near the above-mentioned base: the stones which cover it are supported in an excellent manner; and in the centre of a neighbouring enclosure there is another cistern of the same kind, though of a smaller size. The ruins of a variety of buildings are scattered here and there to the south-east, which sufficiently proves that this part of the island was formerly well inhabited.

*Halspital*, a ruined village.

*Halarrig*, the remains of many ancient habitations.

*Mqabba*, signifying the *cover of a vase*.

*Luqa*. This village is built on a high spot of ground above the *Marsa*, which is the end of the Great Port. Almost all the inhabitants are masons. The name is derived from *poplars*, there being formerly many of those trees in the environs.

*Tarscien* takes its name from *Tarsis*, or *Carthage*, and was



probably the first place inhabited by the Carthaginians on their arrival in Malta.

*Zabbar* signifies *drinker*.

*Aaffieli*, formerly famous for excellent honey.

*Hal Saïd*. This village no longer exists.

*Uyed Aain*, a small pond.

*Halcharrat*, *Hal Tnin*, ruined hamlets.

*Zeitun*, or *Biskallin*: this last name means the *Sons* of *Sicily*, from a number of Sicilian emigrants who inhabited this island after having landed at *Marsaskalla*.

*Gioan*, a hamlet.

*Ghasciaq*. This word, in the Maltese language, means *to have pleasure*.

*Ghar Dalmain*, a large grotto.

*Kasar*. Two hundred paces to the north of this casal, behind the small chapel of St. George, are the ruins of a very ancient edifice, built in the same style as the Giant's Tower, though not the work of the Arabs. It is composed of two circular parts, from twelve to fourteen fathoms in diameter; these are about twelve or fourteen fathoms distant from each other, but joined by a wall. This edifice, at first sight, appears like a vast heap of stones, some of which are enormously large.

The ruins of the Temple of Hercules are to the east of Marsa Sirocco, three hundred paces from the port, and situated



on a little hill close to the road, near a retired house, in a field which belonged to the Augustin Friars.

The ruins consist of a fine wall; of which, four layers of stones two feet high only remain: these stones are five or six feet long, and laid without mortar in a workman-like manner. The wall is ninety feet in length. This edifice, as we have already said, is called the Temple of Hercules; but it is not easy to say which part of the building was dedicated to that demi-god.

The chapel of *Our Lady of Snow* is near this place; the disposition and ornaments of which are in a remarkably good taste, both for the form and the simplicity, not only of the sides, but of the whole mass of the building.

The road of which the above is an itinerary is not passable for a *caleshe*; that is to say, if the traveller quits the direct one, which leads from one casal to another: this journey must therefore be performed on horseback, and, indeed, in some parts, on foot. A *caleshe* is a carriage of the country, with two large wheels, and drawn by a single mule.



## CHAP. IV.

*Goza not sufficiently fertile to supply its Inhabitants with Corn without foreign Assistance. Form of Government established in that Island, which only contains six Casals. Description of the most interesting Objects of Curiosity, viz. The Castle; Rabbatto; The Grotto in the Biasi Garden; Quaccia; Ruins of an ancient Edifice; Giant's Tower; Zebug; Alabaster Quarry; Convent of Capuchin Friars; Port St. Paul; Grotto; Clock-maker's Salt-Works; extraordinary Phenomenon; Mushroom Rock; dangerous Manner of catching Birds and Fish; Sasso di San Paolo.*

THE island of Goza, though fertile, was not sufficiently so to furnish the whole of its inhabitants with corn; seven or eight thousand salmes of which they were constantly obliged to purchase every year. The pasture land is fine, and they fed great quantities of cattle for the use of Malta, with which there was a daily communication; five or six boats filled with provisions going every morning to the city *Valetta*, and returning the same afternoon with all such merchandise and eatables as were not to be found at Goza. The grapes of this island are particularly fine, and so highly esteemed by the Maltese, that they buy up the greatest part for their own particular use.

Corn and cotton were cultivated with great success in Goza, and generally yielded from sixteen to eighteen for one. The inhabitants attended particularly to the plantations of cotton trees, and never suffered any other kind of tree to be



planted near them, lest they should attract and absorb any of the nutritive qualities of the earth. The annual produce from cotton in Goza might be estimated at five hundred quintals of rotoli, each rotolo weighing thirty ounces.

Oxen or asses are employed in Goza for ploughing the land; and, in some particular cases, they dig a foot deep into the earth, in order to refresh it. The ancient plough was made use of both in that island and in Sicily.

The air of Goza is extremely wholesome, and the country presents a variety of agreeable prospects. The two hills called *Nodar* and *Sciahrer* are surrounded by gardens watered by different fountains, and are undoubtedly the pleasantest in the island.

There was a collegiate church in the castle, where the service was performed by canons; likewise a prison, and the governor's palace; the whole containing about two hundred inhabitants.

There were three convents of friars in the island; the Augustins, Franciscans, and Capuchins. Every casal or village had its separate parish; and in some of them were hermits, whose province it was to educate youth.

The governor of Goza was always a knight. The municipality consisted of four *jurats*: and there were three courts of justice; one for the laity, another for the clergy, and a third for the inquisition. The first tried all civil and criminal causes; the second had jurisdiction of every thing relative to spiritual



affairs; and the last (which consisted of only one canon), referred all causes to Malta which he could not immediately determine on the spot.

I shall now enter into some particulars relative to the most interesting objects in Goza, in the same manner as I have already treated of those in Malta.

Goza contains only six casals: *Garbo* or *Gharb*; *Zebucco* or *Zebug*; *Nadur*; *Quaccia*, or *Scicara*, or *Caccia*; *Zeuchia*, or *Scienquia*; and *Sannat*.

The first fort built on the coast of Goza was *Miggiaro*, situated between *Robiglium* and *Uyed el Rajos*. This was erected in 1605, from the fund left for that purpose by the grand-master *Garzéz*. The *Bailly de Chambray* began to build another, at his own expence, in 1749; but it not being completed at his death, it was afterwards finished by the order, and called city *Chambray*. The only fortress of any consequence in the interior of the island is the castle, situated on a solitary rock of not more than one hundred and fifty fathoms in diameter. Water is so extremely abundant, that in one of the vertical fronts a trench has been dug from the top to the bottom, through which runs a sufficient quantity to fill a well for the use of the inhabitants and neighbourhood. The road to this place winds round a rock; and the entrance is through very strong gates with draw-bridges, between which is a stone bridge, and at the foot of it a niche with an antique statue, thought by the historians who have written on Malta to be



that of Juno: the head, feet, and arms, are wanting; but what remains is beautifully executed; though it is not easy to guess why it is imagined to be Juno, since nothing appears which can possibly give an idea of that goddess, not one of whose attributes are perceptible. A female head in marble is shewn here: it is crowned with leaves resembling laurel, and is of a size proportionate to fit the above-mentioned statue; but it is mutilated in such a manner as to render it impossible to form any just idea of its original state; the projecting parts, the mouth, nose, and chin, being all flattened\*.—Broken trunks of pillars, together with chapiters, bases, and other fragments of the different orders of architecture, are scattered the whole way to the castle: and on examining a variety of ruins of the same kind in *Rabbato*, and the suburbs of the castle, it is natural to suppose the island of Goza was formerly adorned by the most sumptuous edifices. In the burying-place of the Augustin Friars at *Rabbato*, there is a monument called that of the *Ancient Bishops*. This consists of church trophies, such as mitres, crosses, stoles, &c. carved in basso relievo: they are incrustated in the wall, but are not very interesting. Between the castle and *Rabbato* is a Gothic monument with very curious attributes: the sculpture represents a woman, (Pl. X. fig. A), under whom are fetters like those worn by galley-slaves.—There is a grotto in a garden called *Biasi*, in the environs of *Rabbato*,

\* It remained a long time in the possession of a tailor at *Rabbato*; where Mr. Houel saw it, spotted all over with ink.

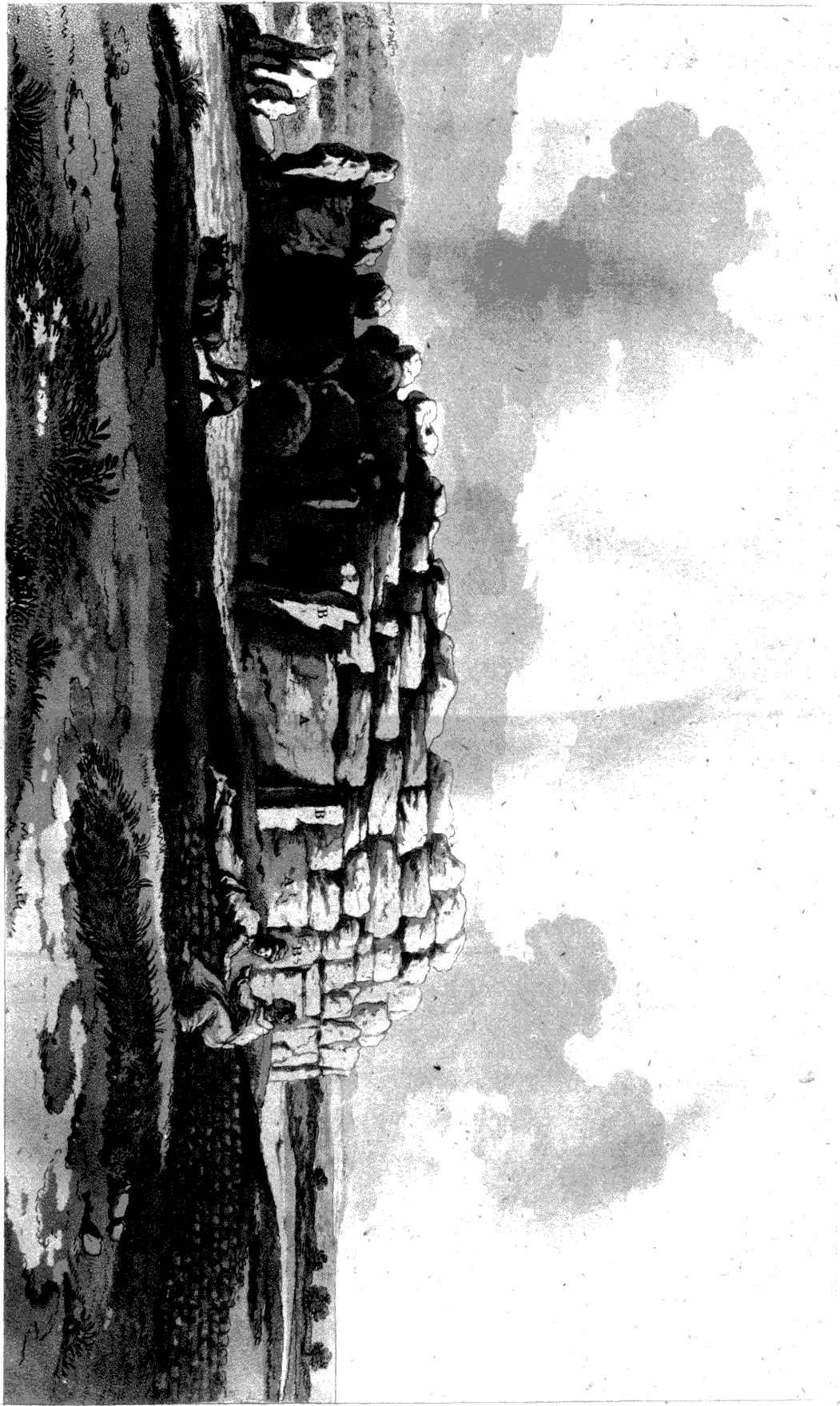


full of tombs hollowed out of the rock: they are at least sixty in number, very large, and six feet long: they have suffered greatly from time, but the workmanship is so moderate, that this circumstance is the less to be regretted.

The road lies through *Quaccia* or *Caccia* to a great enclosure formed by a wall of enormous stones, placed alternately lengthwise and breadthwise; the first mark the thickness of this circular wall, and the others jut out beyond it. The two sides of the doorway are formed of stones eighteen feet high, and six thick: these likewise prove the thickness of the wall; they are about four feet wide, and seven or eight feet distant from each other: these stones are so rudely cut, and so crooked, that it is impossible to take a perfectly exact measure. The diameter of the enclosure, which is entirely round, is twenty-three feet. There is the appearance of steps formed by the hand of nature in the rock on which this edifice is erected. To the east, at the distance of fifteen fathoms, are very fine remains of another building in the same style.

The ruins called the Giant's Tower (Pl. VIII.) are undoubtedly of very great antiquity; but the manner in which this edifice must have been built sufficiently proves it could not have been erected by the Greeks, who never produced any thing so irregular and colossal. It is evident that it was the work of the primitive people, whose ignorance of the arts shews itself in all their monuments, which constantly display more strength than taste. Their passion for the wonder-





*Remains of an ancient Wall called the Great Wall.*

*Published by G. & J. Robinson London May 1833.*







ful, induced them to undertake the most dangerous enterprises. Through whatever country they passed, they sought to perpetuate the memory of their chiefs, together with the conquests they obtained. Many of these monuments have not only been spared by time, but respected by men ; and the learned have constantly disputed about the epoch of their foundation, and the purposes for which they were intended. The Giant's Tower, I am of opinion, was constructed at the time when the Phœnicians took possession of Malta and Goza, but for what purpose I cannot pretend to decide. The style of masonry is very much the same as that of different ruins in Sicily, Etruria, Scotland, Lower Britany, and Denmark ; though neither in shape, nor many other particulars, does it resemble any edifice I have hitherto seen. It is built with stones of eight, ten, and twelve feet long ; the first layers of which are placed on the rock in the same manner as the ruins near Caccio, that is, length-wise and breadth-wise alternatively, so that every other one jutted out beyond the wall, and formed a kind of pillar, which added greatly to the solidity of the building. The stones of this first layer do not appear to be cut, nor is there any reason to believe they were fastened together by mortar, or any other kind of cement ; but those of the upper layers are more regularly placed, without, however, being exactly cut, or in a very straight line. The walls are five or six feet thick ; and it is most probable the masons of old had some kind of mortar or stucco, with which they filled up the crevices of these



stones, and laid them in so durable a manner as to remain for many centuries. It is likewise possible that the present irregularity of the building may be the effect of time, and not of any fault in the original construction. The form, however, of the edifice is not regular: it consists of three different rooms (Pl. VII. fig. 3); the first, a long square terminating in a half-circle, and the second also a long square: these two conjointly are twenty fathoms in length, by thirteen in breadth. The third is of a circular shape. The remains of these walls are certainly grand and imposing; but as to the form of the edifice, the experienced eye of an artist alone can distinguish, among such a heap of shapeless stones, the regular direction of the ancient foundations.

*Zebug.* In the heart of a mountain to the west, is an alabaster quarry\*. Nothing is to be seen at some fathoms below its summit, but some detached large stones stuck fast in the ground; the proprietors of the quarry, after removing the earth, dug out pieces from the alabaster rock, and had them sawed on the spot. Whilst this operation was performing they examined the colour of the veins, and contrived to cut them in such a manner as to produce a very fine effect on the surface. Tables and pillars have been made of them, and, packed up on mules, sent to different places. There are two quarries of the same kind, close to each other; and were they to

\* See Chap. VII.



dig deeper, there is no doubt but very fine pieces would be found.

A convent of Capuchin Friars was situated near this quarry; the style of the architecture of which was strikingly handsome, and the entrance remarkable for its peculiar elegance and beauty. The arcades of the cloister were ornamented with festoons of natural flowers; together with jars likewise filled with flowers, which were attended to with all possible care, and kept in the nicest order. At the distance of half a mile from the convent, on the road to Port St. Paul, is a grotto of great celebrity, situated in the centre of a valley. The entrance is towards the north, and so narrow that a man can scarcely pass through it. This passage is twenty-five feet long; and leads to a hall hollowed in the rock, thirty feet in diameter. It is supported in the middle by a pillar. At the end of this hall are two corridors, which appear to project into the country, but in reality have no aperture. This grotto has nothing particularly remarkable, nor does it deserve the reputation it has acquired.

*Port St. Paul.* There are some ancient habitations in the neighbourhood, hollowed in the rock, but they are almost entirely destroyed by the north wind and the sea acid which abounds in this part. The only object remaining worthy notice, is a closet with a table in the middle, large enough to hold eight people, and benches entirely around it.—Port St. Paul is capable of containing small vessels, as is another port in



the neighbourhood. To prevent the irruption of barbarian vessels during the night, a chain is placed at the edge of the water, and fastened to the two sides of the entrance.

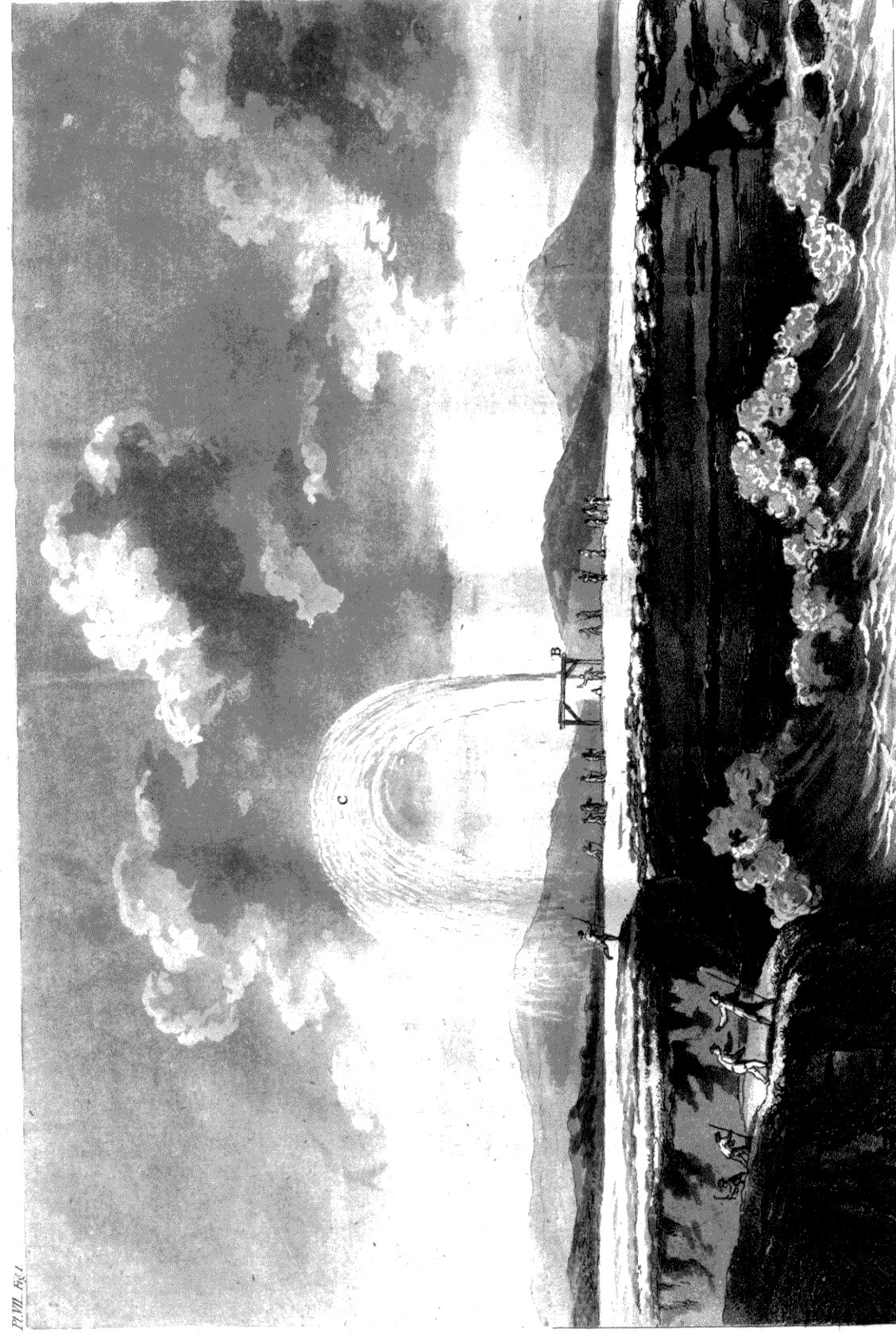
*Port Miggiano—Salt-works*, called the *Clock-maker's*. These salt-works are situated to the west of the mountain *Zebuccio* or *Zebug*, at the farthest part of a valley leading to the sea. The entrance is through a long range of rocks gently declining towards the shore, and within forty feet of the level of the water, when they become on a sudden entirely perpendicular. The making these salt-works was the cause of a phenomenon too remarkable to be passed over in silence.

Forty years since, a Maltese clock-maker, who owned the above-mentioned rocks, formed a plan of making salt-works by digging a reservoir, and letting in the sea-water. He flattered himself that the heat of the sun would cause the water to evaporate, leaving behind it a sufficient quantity of salt not only to indemnify him for the expence he had been at, but to enrich him considerably. The difficulty was to facilitate the entrance of the water, it being forty or fifty feet below the reservoir made in the rock. After a variety of attempts, he at last discovered that there was a grotto under the rock, which communicated with the sea; he therefore immediately pierced the rock in a perpendicular direction, and made an aperture like the mouth of a well. This plan succeeded extremely well; and he was delighted to find that the water in the reservoir diminished every day, which he attributed









View of the extraordinary fountain occasioned by the Cork-masters Salt Works.

Published by J. & B. Robinson London May 1864.



to the natural effect of the sun: and he continued letting in as much water as possible, in hopes of encreasing the quantity of salt. But his surprise was beyond description on perceiving that the water was not evaporated, but absorbed by the spongy rock, from which, owing to filtration, it in time returned to the place from which it originally came. It was some time before he made this discovery; which at last was owing to his wishing to collect the salt he imagined to be contained in the reservoir, at the bottom of which the rock was entirely dissolved by the acid of the salt, and nothing remained but a thick kind of mud. The grief he suffered from this disappointment, threw him into a long and dangerous illness. On the approach of winter the weather became windy and the sea rough. One day in particular a terrible storm arose, and the violence of the wind drove the raging waves into the grotto; where the body of water encreasing considerably, and being confined in this almost circular spot, acted with a rotatory motion, and formed a syphon (Pl. VII. fig. 1.) or water-spout. There being no passage but the well newly opened, it forced its way through with violence, and appeared like a beautiful wheatsheaf of water of so large a circumference as to fill up the whole mouth of the well; and rising perfectly entire to the height of sixty feet, formed a magnificent aigrette. Its projectile force was so great, that the wind could not act upon it till it had reached the above-mentioned height; when it suddenly separated, and the aqueous particles composing this immense body of water



were diffused over the country on all sides, to the extent of more than a mile. This violent rain of salt-water destroyed all vegetation, and the cultivated fields, which before had been amply productive, appeared as if they had suffered from fire.

Before the opening of the upper part of the rock such an effect could not have been produced. The resistance of the confined air, which then had no passage, would have prevented the waters from accumulating, and the wind from being shut up; consequently, the air and the waves would have preserved a just equilibrium: but the cavity in the rock letting out the air, destroyed this equilibrium, and the water collecting in the grotto caused the above fatal event.

The inhabitants of the neighbourhood brought an action against the clock-maker, and claimed damages to a great amount; but he died before the affair was decided. To prevent another misfortune of the same nature, they stopped up the mouth of the well with large stones. This operation occasioned another phenomenon, as extraordinary as the former. A great quantity of air was confined by the waves in the bottom of the grotto; which being rarefied, repulsed the water with such violence as to cause the most terrible explosions, which not only shook the rock, but the whole of the neighbourhood. The tremendous noise of these different explosions resounded through all the grottoes, and resembled a discharge of artillery of all sizes quickly succeeding each other. These sounds being constantly echoed, had the effect of the most violent peals of



thunder, particularly when different storms met together. The terror was general; and constant apprehensions were entertained that the rocks would be thrown down, under which this subterranean thunder never ceased to roar when the wind was high. This horrible noise still continues whenever the well is filled up; but when the impetuous waves confined in the cavern have in some degree removed the stones at the bottom of the well, the water acts with the greatest violence upon them, breaking them, reducing them to powder, and driving them back into the sea. The first stones being carried away, the others fall of course; and the well once cleared, the wheatsheaf of water forms again, and spreads desolation through the adjacent parts. In the space of twenty years, the well has been filled up three times; and the inhabitants are in constant dread of a fresh explosion.

*Mushroom Rock.* A tour round Goza is particularly interesting in calm weather. On quitting Port Miggiano, at the distance of two miles to the right, and towards the south-west, is a small port, and keeping at a little distance from the island it is impossible not to be struck by the variety of rocks and mountains which surround it. Small gulfs, caverns, and grottoes, of different forms and sizes, present themselves every moment. The next object worthy attention is the *Mushroom-shelf*. The neighbouring rocks are perpendicular, the shelf itself is of a great height and about forty or fifty fathoms from the shore. In the language of the country, it is called *Ha-*



*gira tal Gernal*. (Pl. IX.) At a small distance is another rock, not quite so high: on the top are fastened very strong ropes, the other ends of which are fixed to the shelf. A large tub similar to those in which orange-trees are planted is hung to these ropes, which are placed in pulleys at the four upper angles of the tub. This tub is large enough to hold one or two men; who by pulling a lesser rope work the pulleys, and by these means push forward the tub, which conveys them with ease backwards and forwards from the shore to the rock. The principal occupation of these men is to fetch the mushrooms, which are of a very peculiar kind.

In 1744 the rock was made inaccessible, and the grand-masters had the sole privilege of gathering this plant, named *Fungus Melitensis—Maltese Mushroom*\*. The entrance by means of ropes was kept shut; and a confidential person appointed to gather the mushrooms, which were preserved with the greatest care. Their medicinal qualities cause them to be much sought for, and highly esteemed. The grand-masters distributed them to the hospitals in both islands, to the knights, and to all the inhabitants who required such a medicine: they likewise sent them into other countries, and to all sick persons who requested them of them.

This plant, and the virtues it possesses have only been known during the last two centuries. Bocconi is the first author.

\* See, for the botanical definition, Chap. VII.





*View of the Munksgaard Head in Book.*

*Published by J. & J. Lubbock, London May 1839.*



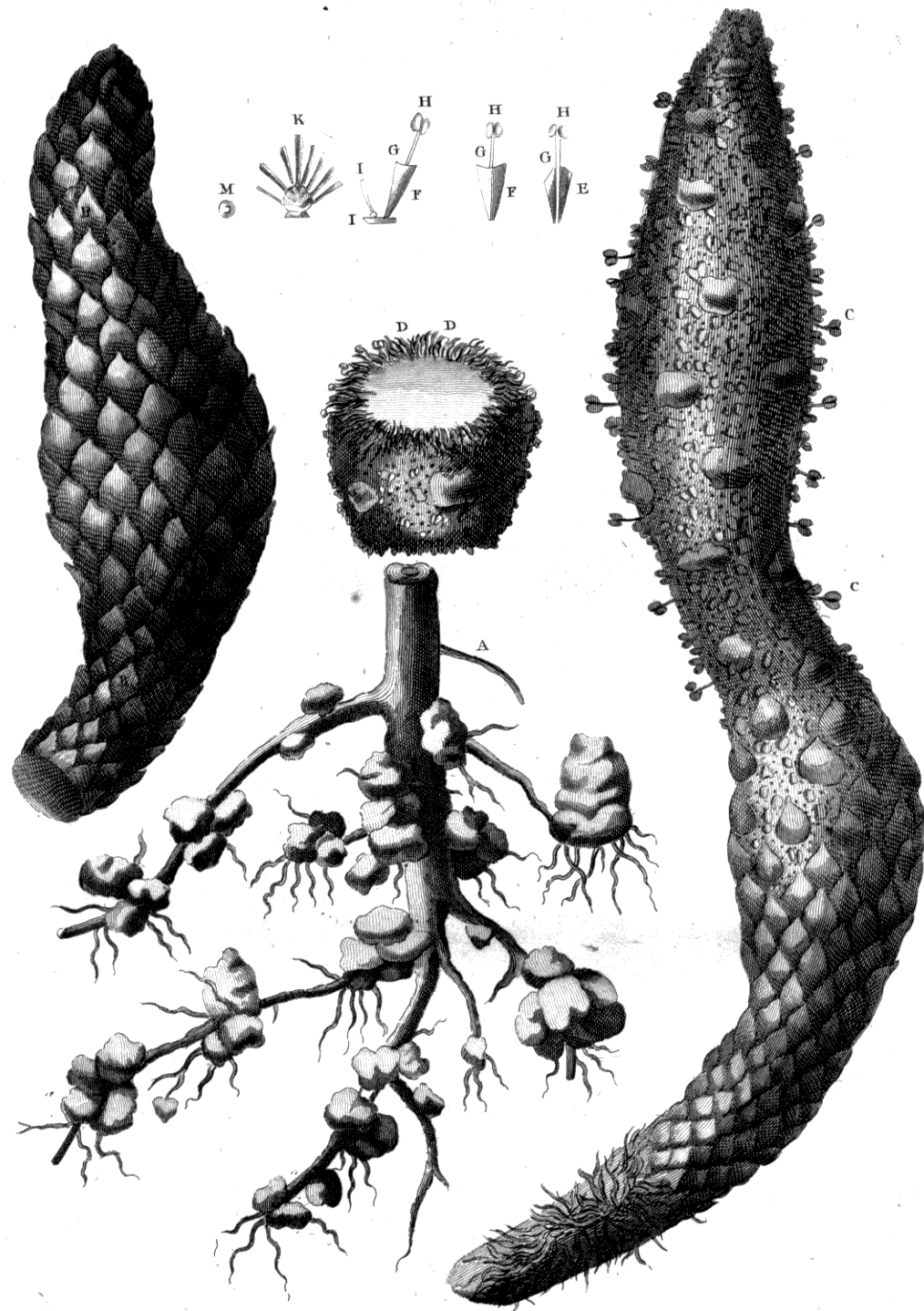








PLXI.



*Fungus Melitensis.*

Published by S & L. Robinson in London May 1794.



who has taken notice of this fungus, in his treatise on the scarce plants of Malta and Sicily; in which he calls it *fungus xyphoides, coccineus, tuberoses, Melitensis*. Micheli has published a small work on the nature of this plant, printed in 1731, in which he terms it *cynomorion* \*. Linnæus has also written a dissertation on the same plant, in which he enters into a variety of particulars. This may be seen in his *Amœnitates Academicæ* (Vol. IV. Dissert. LXV); where he gives it the name of *cynomorium coccineum*, and has added a plate representing the plant, taken from Micheli (Pl. XI). This fungus is bissexual, of the class *monœcia monandria*. It first appears in December and January, and continues growing till April, at which time it is in perfection. It is from six to seven inches high, scaly, white mixed with other colours, of a conical form and fleshy substance, though harder than the common mushroom. It is mucilaginous, of a bitter and styptic taste, and when dried becomes of a garnet colour. If left to remain, when ripe, on the spot where it is gathered, it produces a seed, which in the month of September brings forth a large quantity of fresh mushrooms; and in this manner it reproduces twice a year, without any culture.

According to many facts related by Linnæus, it is sufficiently proved, that this plant is a very efficacious remedy in the dysentery: it is likewise excellent for drying up ulcers,

\* *Cynomorium dicitur a canini genitalis similitudine.*



strengthening the gums, curing spitting of blood, hemorrhages of the womb, and all other disorders in which styptics are necessary. It is in great repute at Malta, where it is constantly employed with much success in all the above-mentioned maladies.

The same species of mushrooms likewise grows at Tunis in Africa, Trepani in Sicily, the islands of Lampedosa, Tavigliani, and Ronciglio, in the Mediterranean; as also on the coasts of Leghorn, on those of Tuscany, in the neighbourhood of Pisa, and even in Jamaica\*: but the same experiments on the medicinal virtues of this plant have never been made in any of these countries as in Malta.

On quitting the rock of mushrooms the traveller must continue to sail round Goza, and he will pass by a variety of capes and gulfs: the Clock-maker's salt-works, and the grotto which produces the curious phenomena, we have already described; where the waves, even in calm weather, make a most terrific noise. Those who wish to explore these grottoes must possess great firmness to support the first entrance, which is so awful, that it requires some time to accustom the ears and eyes to the dreadful sounds and tremendous objects by which they are assailed.

For two miles farther the coast is formed of caverns and vertical rocks, from a hundred and thirty to a hundred and sixty

\* See Brown's History of Jamaica, page 334. He calls it *cynomorium erectum breve cylindracum prima astate squammatum*.



feet high above the water: the same rocks are buried in the sea to a very great depth, but they are of so white a colour, and the water so transparent, that they may be easily distinguished at a considerable depth under the waves.

Numbers of the lower order of people live in the midst of the gulfs and caves, and gain a livelihood by exposing themselves to the greatest dangers. Many among them were let down the perpendicular rock by ropes, in order to search in the clefts and fissures for wood-pigeons' nests, and other kinds of birds, the flesh and plumage of which were fit for sale. These men were sometimes obliged to balance themselves in the air whilst searching for their game, which is frequently hid in the deepest part of the rock. Accidents have so frequently happened, that this kind of sport was forbidden; some Maltese casuists being of opinion that it was contrary to religion to risk life on such pursuits.—This was not the only method employed by the inhabitants of Goza to gain a subsistence; some of them took advantage of calm weather to fish round these rocks, descending from the summit by some sharp points which formed a kind of stair, though so dangerous, that it was with the greatest difficulty they could find a place to rest their feet. They thus arrived within fifteen or twenty feet of the surface of the sea, where they sometimes remained whole days, or at least till they had caught a sufficient quantity of fish; when they ascended in the same manner, at the risk of falling into the sea at every step. So fearless were these men, that very few



among them even made use of ropes, except in places where it was impossible to pass without such assistance. No one can reflect without trembling on the situation of these poor men, who must infallibly have been drowned if their feet should have happened to slip; for so smooth and so polished is the rock, that it would not afford them the smallest hold, and there is no other access to the shore within the distance of a mile.

From this place to Port St. Paul the rocks are less high, and broken in several places: they likewise continue the same as far as Port Miggiano; and on that coast of the island may be easily destroyed, in consequence of their having been considerably wasted by the force of the waves. There is an evident proof of this in a rock called *Sasso di san Paolo*; a quarter of which, of about two thirds of a fathom in thickness, is now at some distance from Port Miggiano. It has been detached from the highest part of the coast, and in falling rested on some stones of the same nature, and there remains, at the height of only seven or eight feet above the surface of the sea. This fragment constantly distils water from the lower and most pointed part, and it is very evident that the drops from this porous stone are caused by the vapours it continually absorbs; the weight of which, in their condensed state, naturally forces a passage through the bottom of the rock.



## C H A P. V.

*Description of the Maltese ; their Dress ; ancient Customs ; Ceremonies observed at Weddings and Funerals ; Diversions called La Cocagna and La Cucciha ; Maltese Language ; Maltese Sonnets.*

THE Maltese, though continually subject to different nations, have always preserved their original character ; which sufficiently proves their descent, and, at the same time, shews that they have mixed very little with any of the people who have by turns governed their country.

Their countenances announce an African origin. They are short, strong, plump, with curled hair, flat noses, turned up lips, and the colour of their skins is the same as that of the inhabitants of the states of Barbary : their language is also so nearly the same, that they perfectly understand each other.

It is, perhaps, as much owing to the situation of Malta, as to the different strangers who have visited and conquered the island, that the Maltese have become very industrious, active, faithful, economical, courageous, and the best sailors in the Mediterranean. But, notwithstanding these good qualities, they still retain some of the defects generally attributed to the Africans ; and are mercenary, passionate, jealous, vindictive, and addicted to thieving. They have likewise sometimes recalled the idea of the *Punica Fides*. They are fantastical and



superstitious in the highest degree, but their ignorance does not unfit them for the cultivation of the arts\*.

The Maltese habit (excepting that of the ecclesiastics, lawyers, and tradespeople, who dress in the French style, and are few compared to the people at large), consists of a large cotton shirt, and a waistcoat likewise very large, with silver, and sometimes gold, buttons; to these are added a *caban* and cloak reaching rather below the small of the back, and a very long girdle twisted several times round the waist, in which they constantly carry a knife in a sheath: they also wear long and full trowsers, with a sort of shoe called *korch*; but they do not often make use of the latter, having almost always both legs and feet entirely naked. This *korch* is merely a leathern sole, with strings to fasten it round the leg. They never wear hats, but blue, red, white, or striped caps. People of easy fortune usually carry fans in their hands, and wear blue or green glass spectacles; for such is the excessive heat occasioned by the reverberation of the rays of the sun from the stones, and the white tufa, that, notwithstanding this precaution, there are many blind people; indeed the greatest number have very weak eyes.

The Maltese are remarkably sober; a clove of garlic, or an onion, anchovies dipped in oil, and salt-fish, being their

\* Houel says, "I have seen artists of great merit in Malta, but whose works are never sent out of the island." Page 106.

Malta particularly prides herself for giving birth to the composer Azzupardi, the author of *Il Musico Prattico*; which is translated into the French, and used as an elementary book in the Academy of Music in Paris. Angiolin Nano is indubitably one of the best performers on the violin in Europe. See Political and Historical Remarks on Malta.







R. X



*Ancient Tomb. Bickon or Maltese Dog-Dogs of the Maltese Women. Remains of the Colosseum.*

Published by G. W. Robinson, London, May 1824.



usual diet. On great festivals, they eat pork. Hogs are very common in towns and villages; many of these animals belong to the church and to different convents, and walk about the streets both night and day, where they pick up sufficient nourishment. They are seldom molested, and never stolen.

There are no people in the world more attached to their country than the Maltese; and their constant hope is to end their days in what they dignify with the title of *Fiore del Mondo* (The Flower of the World).

The Maltese women (Pl. X.) are little, and have beautiful hands and feet. They have fine black eyes, though they sometimes appear to squint, owing to their always looking out of the same eye; half of the face being covered with a sort of veil made of black silk, called *faldetta*, which they twist about very gracefully, and arrange with much elegance. The women, even of the highest rank, unlike their husbands, constantly preserve their *costume*; and any one who should adopt the French fashion would make herself very ridiculous. They are extremely fond of gold and silver ornaments, and it is not uncommon to see even the peasants loaded with trinkets of those two metals. Their dress consists of a short shift, called *kmis*; of a linen or cotton under petticoat, termed *Ideil*; of a coloured upper one, which is generally blue, open on one side, called *gkesuira*; and of a corset with sleeves, termed *sidria*. The back part of their neck-kerchief is fastened up to the head; and their hair, which is smooth, well powdered and pomatumed,



is dressed in front in the form of a sugar-loaf, much in the style of the *toupées à la Gréque*, so long worn by the men. They ornament their necks with gold and silver chains ; sometimes, indeed, with necklaces of precious stones : their arms are loaded with bracelets, and their ear-rings are in general more expensive than elegant. Their shoe-buckles are extremely large, and always either of solid gold or silver.

The Maltese baronesses live very retired, and in the most exemplary manner. The morals of the women in the country retain all their original purity ; and if libertinism is to be remarked any where, it is among those women who inhabit cities, and who, having no other resource but obtaining some office for their relations, are sometimes obliged to dispose of their favours in order to procure it. To complete the portrait of the inhabitants of Malta, and to give a still better idea of their character, it will be necessary to enter into some particulars relative to their ancient and modern customs and ceremonies.

The Maltese, either from a wish to imitate the Oriental manners, the severity of which they had witnessed in the Arabs, or from the example of the jealous Spaniards, formerly kept their wives in the strictest retirement. The prudent inhabitants of the country constantly repeated to their children, “ that women should never appear but twice in public ; the day they were married, and when they were buried.” They were therefore always employed within doors, and never went out, except at a very early hour to church, when they were entirely



covered by a long and large mantle. This *costume* came originally from Sicily, and reached from the head to the feet: the forehead and eyes alone were visible; but the upper part of the mantle was cut in a different manner for unmarried women, the former wearing it round and the latter in a pointed form.

Some time afterwards, when the fair sex was allowed a proper degree of liberty, and the desire of pleasing encreased with the opportunity of inspiring admiration, the women threw off this heavy garment, which not only kept them concealed, but was extremely unpleasant: they however constantly wore veils; which, they conceived, decency required to be black, and the only colour they could with propriety wear when absent from their own homes.

Marriages in Malta were always entirely arranged by the parents; who consulted their own interest, and the suitableness of the connection, without attending to the inclinations of their children. The articles of the contract settled, and the portion ascertained, the young man sent his intended bride a present consisting of certain fish ornamented with garlands of ribband, and in the mouth of the finest amongst them a ring. The first interview was then fixed to take place in presence of the parents and their particular friends, who were regaled with sweetmeats and other refreshments; but just before this meeting, the two mothers of the young people retired either into an arbour in the garden or some separate apartment, where they prepared a mixture of aniseed, aromatic plants, salt, and honey, with



which they rubbed the bride's lips, with the idea of rendering her affable and prudent. She was then conducted to the room where her future husband waited her arrival; who presented her a ring on which were engraved two hands united, the emblem of *mutual faith*, together with bracelets, necklaces, and a gold chain, she giving him in her turn a handkerchief trimmed with lace and bows of ribband.

On the day appointed for the celebration of the nuptials, the most respectable personages among the husband's relations threw a white and very fine veil over the bride's head; who was extremely ornamented, and wore a velvet *simarre*, in which the other relations made certain rents for the purpose of affixing small golden shells. They then proceeded to church for the *haddara* or ceremony, attended by performers on different instruments, and singers who sang stanzas in praise of the young couple. These musicians were preceded by three men: the first bearing on his head a basin of white earth, varnished and painted in arabesque, of a yellow colour; this was filled with fresh *brioche*s (a kind of cake), on the largest of which were placed two small figures: he also wore a scarf, with a round cake called *collora* hanging from it. The second carried a basket filled with sugar-plums and candied nuts, which one of the relations distributed among the acquaintances he happened to meet: in the middle of the basket was a handkerchief folded in the form of a pyramid, and ornamented with the images of the Virgin, Saint Joseph, and the Infant Jesus. The



third was constantly employed in burning perfumes. The bride and bridegroom followed, under a canopy of crimson velvet festooned, carried by four of the principal persons who attended the wedding; and the rest of the relations closed the procession. This custom of the canopy continued in use till 1668, when it was forbidden by the bishop.

The arrival of the procession at the church was announced by the ringing of bells; and the priest was presented with a basin containing a cake, a handkerchief, and two bottles of wine, the usual fee on such occasions. The blessing given, they returned from church in the same order as they went. The whole of the ceremony generally lasted four hours. On the entry of the new married couple into the house, a servant from one of the windows threw a few handfuls of grain and some small money on their heads. There was a reigning prejudice in those days among the Maltese, which made them believe that if the wife on her return from church put her foot first on the threshold of the door, she would undoubtedly govern her husband; now with such an idea, it is not very likely the bridegroom should be polite enough to give place to his bride on this occasion.

The nuptial feast took place immediately afterwards; but the bride either ate in a separate apartment, or in a corner of the hall, which was properly prepared and covered with linen cloth to conceal her from public view. The repast over, she was seated next her husband, and drank out of the same cup.



At a village wedding, the company danced during the feast; each dancer throwing a piece of money to the fiddlers, and each guest contributing a fowl to the repast.

Till the beginning of the eighteenth century, all balls given in town on wedding-days were in the Spanish style, and every one danced with castanets in their hands.

The bride always passed the first week in her father's house; after which she was received with much pomp by her husband, whose relations gave a great feast and a ball.

The Maltese never married during the month of May; indeed, they carried their prejudice so far, that they would not even cut out a coat, thinking it impossible that any thing begun at that time could ever succeed. This superstition calls to remembrance the manner in which the Romans divided the year into fortunate and unfortunate days; and it is impossible not to perceive a great resemblance between the old Maltese customs, and those of various ancient nations.

On the death of a Maltese, two women called *Neuicha*, hired for the occasion, and habited in long mourning cloaks, immediately entered the house of the deceased, singing, in a low and dismal voice, some moral sentences. These women cut away the branches of such vines as formed arbours in the courts, ranged through all the apartments, overturned the flower-pots in the windows, broke some of the ornamental furniture, and carrying the remains to a retired spot, threw them into a cauldron of boiling water, in which they mixed soot and



ashes. With this liquid they stained all the doors in the house, sighing most bitterly whilst performing the operation. The *neuicha* then proceeded to the chamber of the deceased, already in his coffin, and surrounded by his female relations wearing veils over their faces, and black silk cloaks; the room, otherwise entirely unfurnished, was hung with black cloth. The *neuicha*, throwing themselves on their knees at the foot of the coffin, began singing the praises of the dead; and at the end of each couplet the other women beat their breasts, wept bitterly, and cut off handfuls of their hair, which they strewed over the coffin. The same day, cakes and boiled wheat were distributed among all the relations, and the hair was cut off the tails of every horse in the stables belonging to the house of the deceased.

The funeral procession was always composed of the relations in mourning, preceded by hautboys, trumpets, and the *neuicha*. When the corpse was interred, a pillow filled with orange and laurel leaves (the latter tree was regarded by the Pagans as expiatory) was placed under the head; and a carpet spread over the tomb, which was suffered to remain some days, to shew that during that time it was forbidden to walk over it.

No fire was lighted for three days in the kitchen of the deceased, and either the most distant relation or most intimate friend sent a dinner to the inhabitants of the house; which they ate cross-legged on a mat on the floor. Women on these occasions remained forty days confined to the house, but men



went out on the seventh day.—The mourning lasted either one or two years, according to the degree of relationship.

The infectious distemper which destroyed such numbers in Malta in 1676, put a stop to the ceremonies we have just described, and they have never since been renewed.

When a nation no longer keeps up its ancient customs, the character of the people frequently undergoes alteration, and this is a sign that the society of foreigners has had a great influence over their natural disposition. If these foreigners obtain sovereign power over the natives, it is a proof likewise that the latter are satisfied with the government under which they live. The Maltese, when subjected to the Goths and Vandals, had not only lost the commerce which before enriched their island, but, at the same time, that social character which is generally attendant on the spirit of trade. Finding themselves a prey to the iniquity and avarice of their governors, they became more attached than ever to their ancient customs, the practice of which at least afforded the consolation of separating them in some degree from their oppressors.

The disinclination felt by the Maltese to associate with the different powers which successively reigned over their island, ceased on the introduction of the order of St. John of Jerusalem. Fortunately a most important event soon gave the sovereign and his subjects an opportunity of forming a judgment of each other. This was the absolute necessity of uniting their forces to repulse the common enemy. The valour and



generous example given by the knights, presently excited the admiration of the natives; who, in their turn, displayed such activity and fidelity, as gave them a just claim to the esteem of the former. The renewal of commerce which afterwards took place; together with the encouragement given to agriculture; the benefits properly dispensed; the riches of the order, which circulated throughout the island by the purchase of different articles of consumption; the pay of the troops, joined to salaries annexed to employments, which were multiplied beyond imagination; softened the Maltese by degrees. Their dispositions had been soured by misfortunes; but they at last became so satisfied with their situation, that they gave up their ancient customs, in order to connect themselves more closely with their governors, of whom they never had the smallest reason to complain.

The marriage ceremony is now performed in the same manner as in other parts of christendom; with this only difference; that the bride's first visit to her parents is celebrated by a festival called *Hargia*, which consists merely in a grand *conversazione* in the Italian style, at which refreshments of every kind are distributed to the company.

The ancient ceremonies practised at funerals, are likewise abolished: the *neuicha* no longer make part of the procession; being represented by two women in black cloaks, who carry chafing dishes on their heads, filled with perfumes.

The only custom peculiar to Malta still subsisting, and



which indeed is retained among none but people of fortune, is the *cucciha*, that is to say, an assembly given by parents on their children's first birth-day. The company being met in the great hall, which is always much more ornamented than any other part of the house, the child is brought in ; and if it be a boy, he is presented with two baskets, the one containing corn and sweetmeats, and the other trinkets, coins, an ink-stand, a sword, &c. The choice he makes on this occasion, will, according to their notions, give a just idea of his future disposition, and the mode of life he will embrace. Should he chuse the corn, it is a sign of a liberal character ; if he prefers the ink-stand, he is to be brought up either to trade or the bar ; and if he takes the sword, the greatest hopes are entertained of his courage. Achilles thus, by a choice of the same nature, discovered to the court of Lycomedes, that his female habiliments served only to conceal a hero. If the child be a girl, needles, silks, and ribbands, supply the place of the sword and ink-stand.

An entertainment was formerly given on Shrove-Tuesday, by the grand-master to the people, in the great square of the city Valetta. Long beams were fixed against the guard-house opposite to the palace, and between each were fastened ropeladders, the whole covered over by branches of trees in leaf : to which were tied, from top to bottom, live animals, baskets of eggs, hams, sausages, wreaths of oranges ; in short, all kinds of provisions. This edifice was called *Cocagna*, and was



crowned by a globe composed of linen cloth, on which stood the figure of Fame *in rilievo*, holding a flag with the grand-master's arms. The people were assembled in the great square, and were prevented by one man, with a wand in his hand, from attacking the *Cocagna*, till the grand-master gave the signal. The man with the wand is entitled the *Gran Visconti*, and the administration of the police is committed to his care. The Maltese people were so obedient, and stood in such complete awe of this officer of justice, that one day, on a false signal being given, they had already begun to attack the *Cocagna*, but on being called back, the crowd, though half way up the ladders, immediately descended in silence.

The Maltese never allowed either foreigners or soldiers to share the profits of this festival, but resented very seriously any attempt at participation. The provisions of the *Cocagna* became the property of those who, having seized them, were able to carry them off in safety through the crowd. This caused furious battles, the combatants assailing each other, attacking and defending with great violence. To the first who reached the figure of Fame was allotted some pecuniary remuneration, and on the standard's being taken to be returned to the grand-master, the cloth globe, composed of two parts, burst open, and out came a flight of pigeons.

Happily the repeated shouts of the populace prevented the cries of the miserable animals hung to the *Cocagna* being heard, though these victims were pulled to pieces from the



branches and eat up, whilst still alive. The people were particularly delighted with this entertainment, which had been suppressed for some time, but was re-established once more during the reign of the grand-master Rohan.

All young women residing in the country insisted, before they were married, on its being particularly stipulated in the contract, that their husbands should take them every year to the city La Valetta on St. John's day, to the Old City on St. Peter's, and to the casal Zeitun on St. Gregory's. This plainly shewed they had no great idea of the complaisance of their intended bridegrooms; and as they were very anxious to exhibit their persons, and at the same time possessed no inconsiderable share of curiosity, they had recourse to this method, to prevent the possibility of a refusal.

The grand festival on St. John's day brought a great concourse of people to the city Valetta. The church of the order was entirely filled: all the troops were under arms, and lined the streets during the general procession, at which the grand-master, the council, and the whole body of knights, constantly assisted. The cannon of the different forts, which had saluted with ball the evening before, discharged several volleys during the ceremony. Four races were run in the afternoon, and the prizes consisted of some *cannes* of gold and silver stuffs. The Castellany and Jurats were seated on this occasion in a gallery at the end of the course, which extended from fort St. Elmo to the Royal-gate, in order to witness who first attained the



goal; and it was customary for such jurats who went in carriages, to stop a moment as they passed under the grand-master's balcony.

The first race was performed by men on foot. The second by asses, of a very fine breed, called *janets* in Malta; the third by mares; and the fourth by horses: none of these animals had either saddles or bridles, and were mounted bare-backed by children of twelve or fifteen years of age, who kept lashing them on with thonged whips. At night a general illumination took place in the city.

St. Peter's day, or the *Mnaria*, was the festival of the metropolitan church of the island. The Old City was twice illuminated on the occasion, and the same races took place as on St. John's day. The crowd met on this holiday at the *Boschetto*, where indeed a great many people were assembled the evening before, and danced all night in a part of the garden where there was a very spacious grotto. This commencement of the feast was called *Sackaya*; and the women from the country always appeared at it in their richest attire. In whatever season they happened to be married, they always came in their wedding clothes, by which means the greatest variety was displayed: velvet dresses, slight silks, cloth jackets, and linen petticoats, were indiscriminately worn. Each family was seated under a tree, and partook of a meal, the principal dish of which was a pie. The lively sound of the fiddles invited every one to dance, so that the whole surrounding scene pre-



sented nothing but joy and pleasure: but to those whose ears were unaccustomed to the Maltese manner of expressing delight, it must have been extremely fatiguing; for these people continually shouted in the sharpest tones, and he who screamed the loudest, was esteemed the happiest of the party. This noise was termed *tikber*, from the word *kabbar*, signifying *shouts of joy*. On returning from this *fête champêtre*—which, from the excessive heat of the place between two burning rocks, no foreigner could possibly enjoy,—the Maltese ornamented their calashes and horses with boughs of trees; and this they did in memory of a custom subsisting among the inhabitants of the island during their state of paganism, who, at the feast of Hercules, carried branches of poplars in their hands; this tree being particularly consecrated to that deity.

The feast of St. Gregory was celebrated by a procession composed of all the societies, the clergy belonging to the parishes of both towns and casals, the canons of the cathedral, and the bishop. This commenced at casal Nuovo, and proceeded to casal Zeitun. It owed its origin to a general vow made at some unknown period, the motive of which was most probably the averting of some great plague, for the word *miseri-corde* was thrice repeated by the whole people on going out of church. The procession took place in the morning, and the remainder of the day was passed in rejoicings.

These festivals, in which it appears devotion had some share, were not the only ones in Malta. The inhabitants like-



wise celebrated the Ascension (which they called *Lapsis*), and St. Laurence's day, by parties on the water. The port was entirely covered by boats, with flags and streamers flying; these were filled with musicians and singers, and afforded a most lively *spectacle*, which lasted till very late at night.

It was also customary on the first of May to deck the grand-master's balcony, and the doors of those who were dignified with the grand cross, with branches of trees; and it appears that this sign of a holiday, which was introduced in Malta by the families from the island of Rhodes, was a remnant of the worship of the sun, formerly adored by the Rhodians.

On the same day the mast of a ship, ninety-six feet high, was erected in the square before the palace, and different kinds of provisions hung to a hoop fixed on the top of it. This was rubbed with tallow from the bottom to about a third of its height; and on a signal from the grand-master, who was seated with the bailiffs in his balcony, the people flew with velocity to the mast, where they formed themselves into different parties, the nimblest amongst them climbing on their comrades' shoulders, who defended them from the others, and he who first reached the flag which waved on the pinnacle, received some money, and carried off the provisions. The art of mounting to the top, consisted in twisting successively linen or cotton girdles round the mast, and the whole of the slippery part; so that whilst the foot rested on the girdle first knotted



together, the hands were employed in fixing a second and a third, on which, being suspended by the hands, it was necessary to untie the first with the feet, in order to place it a second time on the fourth step of this kind of ladder. The greasy part of the mast being once surmounted, agility succeeded to art, and the adventurer, who had already overcome the greatest difficulty, was encouraged to proceed by repeated acclamations of joy; he therefore soon arrived at the flag with the grand-master's arms, from whence he saluted that prince three times, and then proceeded to the top of the mast, which he encircled with his arms and legs. Having once reached the pinnacle, he rested on a little seat made of ropes, and untying the provisions, threw some of them into the square among the people, whose eagerness to seize on them, always caused the most violent disputes. This operation performed, he slid easily down by a rope fastened to the top of the mast, from whence it hung to the ground.

The Carnival was a great source of amusement to the Maltese. The public masked balls began on Twelfth-day, but no one was permitted to appear with a mask in the streets (in the Italian style), except on the last three days of the Carnival; on the last Saturday of which it was the custom for a great number of peasants to go at an early hour under the grand-master's balcony, to wait till he granted them *il Carnavale*. A knight of the grand-cross made known their request, and the moment it was complied with, the companies of *Battilo* ranged



through the city. These were Maltese dressed in white, covered with ribbands, and armed with swords and small shields. These men, to the sound of a sort of strolling music, performed mock fights, which they finished by lifting up a child, who was placed on their arms twisted together, and who held a flag in his hand, which he furled and unfurled in a tolerably graceful manner.

During the last three days of the Carnival, a large stone was suspended to the beam at the corner of the Castellany, where the punishment of the strappado was usually inflicted: this was to shew, that on those days the sword of *Themis* rested quietly in its scabbard; in the same manner as the Romans never punished any criminals during the Saturnalia.

On the Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, calashes filled with masks were continually driving through the squares of the palace and the conservatory, and the chains which at other times prevented the entrance of carriages, were let down at a very early hour. The masks finished the jollity of the evening at the ball given at the theatre, where the knights had the privilege of dancing unmasked.

Whenever the order celebrated any extraordinary event, the grand-master granted *il Carnavale* to the people, and this was called *Carnavala Babano*.

The tongue spoken in Malta and Goza is rather a kind of *patois*, or country dialect, than a real language. A slight resemblance between this *patois* and some Punic words, in-



duced the Abbé A\*\*\*\* to endeavour to persuade his readers, that the principles of the latter ancient tongue, the alphabet of which no longer exists, were to be found in the Maltese language, which has itself no alphabet; but his arguments were inconclusive, and founded upon too weak a basis to be supported merely by the force of imagination, when no proofs could possibly be brought forward in favour of his assertions. Other authors of the same nation, who were either better informed, or who ventured to speak their sentiments more boldly, have endeavoured to establish the same opinion, and that by giving reasons apparently much more plausible. One in particular has promised the public a work on this subject, which cannot fail being extremely interesting. But though I agree with him that the study of the Maltese language as it is spoken at present may be very useful to gain a more perfect knowledge of the Phœnician tongue, I cannot believe it would afford any essential aid in decyphering the Phœnician inscriptions on the different monuments and medals.

The original language spoken by the inhabitants of Malta, must necessarily have been lost, by the frequent revolutions which have taken place in that island, and by its subjection to so many different nations.

The Greeks having driven away the Phœnicians, abolished their language; and if the Carthaginians introduced it a second time, the Romans were too anxious to efface even the most distant remembrance of Carthage, ever to permit the



Phœnician idiom to be used in a country they had so lately conquered. The preference indeed they so decidedly gave to the Greek tongue, is a sufficient proof that this was the case. The Goths and Vandals next introduced a new language, and almost entirely eradicated every vestige of the ancient tongue; so that the Greeks of the lower empire, who succeeded them, were regarded by the Maltese as absolute foreigners. The Arabs at last took possession of the island, and the inhabitants adopted, and have ever since retained, the language of their conquerors, to whom they quietly submitted, and with whom they had every reason to be satisfied. They, however, still preserved some Greek expressions; and though afterwards subject to various powers, they only borrowed a few words from their different languages. This mixture vitiated in some degree the Arabic pronunciation; and the Maltese at that time having no commerce, nor any inducement to cultivate the sciences, soon lost the habit of writing, and likewise forgot the Arabic alphabet, which, there is great reason to believe, had before been in use.

Those who now write the Maltese *patois*, are obliged to make use of foreign characters; and every one, being at liberty to spell as he pleases, endeavours to express as nearly as possible the exact pronunciation of the word he employs. This inconvenience is but little felt, because the Maltese language is confined to the island, where the distances are too short to make it necessary to conduct business by the pen. It would,



however, be very useful to facilitate this, by composing a fixed alphabet.

During my residence in Malta, I employed myself in compiling a Maltese grammar; to which I added several dialogues, songs, and tales. I have been taught to believe, that it may probably be restored to me; but as that is uncertain, I think it necessary to say, I composed it merely for amusement, and if ever it should prove useful, it must be to those who making a long residence at Malta, would naturally be desirous of learning the language, in order to make themselves more intimately acquainted with the inhabitants. The Bailli de Neveu was become so conversant with this language, that if any Maltese spoke to him, he immediately knew the *casal* he inhabited; for though these villages were very near each other, there was a slight difference in the pronunciation between them all, and this was likewise the case in Goza.

Mr. Court de Gebelin, in his Treatise on the Mechanism of Languages, judges in the following manner of the Maltese tongue: "This language cannot be defined, because it is a composition of all, the Arabian, German, Greek, &c." It is, however, necessary to observe, that the greatest part of the words are either Arabic or Moorish, and in consequence the Maltese and the inhabitants of Barbary very easily understand each other.

Corrupted as is the Maltese *patois*, it is notwithstanding extremely pleasing, and, like all other Eastern languages, full of



metaphors, proverbs, and animated expressions. These render it peculiarly fit for poetry, the taste for which the Maltese first imbibed from the Greeks, and afterwards from the Arabs, whose style of Eastern poetry, together with the moral which formed its principal ornament, they more particularly adopted. They sang their own compositions, accompanying themselves on a kind of instrument, resembling a violin or lyre.

The following is a translation of three ancient Maltese sonnets: each consists of four lines, the second always rhyming with the last.

## 1.

HE who too far indulges hope,  
Will find how soon hope fails;  
He 's like a seaman bottling wind,  
In hopes to fill his sails\*.

## 2.

THOU who by sad experience know'st  
How sure Love's arrows fly,  
Say, what 's the smart? for well I ween,  
What thou hast felt, feel I.

## 3.

AH! trouble not this fountain's source,  
Which late thy thirst appeased;—  
That thirst with which the passing hour  
Again may see thee seiz'd.

The Maltese had also a great number of adages and proverbs in verse, which they introduced into conversation; but the knowledge they have since acquired of Italian poetry

\* The same measure and kind of rhymes have been adopted in the translation as in the original.



from that language being almost in constant use, has made them entirely neglect and forget the taste which formerly reigned in their national poetry; and the Maltese compositions at present are only bad imitations of the Italian, without either originality of style, or liveliness of expression. These are regarded as the *chef d'œuvres* of some *improvisatrices*, who gain a scanty livelihood by their talents, which they employ on particular festivals in singing verses, for which they are paid, but which fortunately no one thinks it worth while to remember.

---

*Originals of the three Songs translated from the Maltese into English.*

*Tliet ɣanġiet bil Malti*

I

Min ɣitma fit-tama  
It-tama tšarraġ biez,  
Ja ɣmel ir-riez fil bomblu,  
Ja ɣsep l'isiefer biez.

II

Smajt l'inti tarbit l'imzabba:  
ɣeidlt fl'imzabba wi ɣralek?  
Eja tɣaddet ɣommoK migei,  
ɣaŋ nazseb liena ɣrali pɣaleK.

III

ɣadira li tiwrop minnɣa,  
NitolboK lad-dardarɣeŋ.  
ɣaŋ imur zmjen u izi jezor,  
Tfittliwɣa mas-sibɣjeŋ.



## CHAP. VI.

*Fertility of the Soil in Malta; Manner and Time of cultivating it. Growth of Cotton; Orange-trees. Bees; remarkable Animals; Dogs—Asses—Sheep; surprising Fruitfulness of the latter. Manner of shooting different Birds of Passage and Falcons. Population; Wonderful Encrease of the Inhabitants; Commerce; Provision of Corn; Custom-houses; Speronares; adventurous Speculations of the Maltese Merchants.*

THE ground in Malta is never suffered to remain uncultivated, but constantly sown every year. Each season yields its peculiar crop, and the produce is very abundant. The corn in land of a middling quality yields from sixteen to twenty for one; whilst that on good land affords thirty-eight, and on rich spots sixty-four. The island of Sicily is by no means equally fertile.

The colour of the soil varies in the different districts of Malta, and it is seldom more than one foot deep above the surface of the rock: it is irrigated chiefly by the night dew; but the rock, being porous, retains the damp, and keeps the ground constantly fresh. The earth is always removed once in ten years, in order to clear the rock of a thick crust, which forms, and prevents the moisture from sufficiently penetrating.

When the ground is properly prepared, it produces, the first year, water-melons and garden plants; the next, an ex-



cellent fruit, which is preserved during the winter, and distinguished by the name of Maltese melons; and afterwards barley, the straw of which furnishes fodder for the cattle. The ground is ploughed the third year, and planted with cotton; and the fourth sown with corn. The land afterwards yields these different crops alternately; but care is always taken to prepare the ground, particularly the year the cotton-tree is to come into bearing, when it is necessary to reduce the earth into a kind of powder.

Three species of cotton are cultivated in Malta; one natural to the country, another from Siam, and the third of a cinnamon colour called Antilles cotton\*. These are all sown in the month of April, and the top of the plant is cut in the beginning of September, that the fruit may grow larger. It is gathered in October, when it begins to open, which is a sign that it is then sufficiently ripe. It is sown in the following manner: A hole some inches deep is made in the ground, which is afterwards filled with water, and when it is sufficiently soaked, the seed is put into it and covered over, without being watered again till it begins to shoot out of the ground. The plant presently grows to the height of ten to fifteen inches, and blooms in the month of August.

\* There are two other sorts of cotton cultivated in America, the one growing upon a kind of shrub, and the other on a large tree full of thorns. These species are mentioned by Bernadin de St. Pierre, but are not known in Malta. The cotton-tree in India is handsome, and grows to a great height: it shoots afresh during five years before there is a necessity of replanting it. That which grows in the Antilles must be planted every two years, and is not so tall as the former, but it produces very fine cotton of a beautiful yellow.



Wheat is sown in November, after the ground has been ploughed three times, and cut in the beginning of June: barley likewise is sown in the former month, and reaped in May. There is a kind of corn in Malta called *tommon*, which grows in poor land, and the bread made of the flour is particularly white. This grain is sown in February.

Each field is enclosed with walls to shelter the different plants from the effects of the wind, rain, and storms, during the spring and autumn.

Necessity, the parent of industry, has taught the Maltese to make a sort of artificial land in the barren parts of the island. They begin by levelling the rock, which, however, they allow to incline a little, that all superabundant water may run off. They then heap together some stones broken into small pieces of an irregular form, which they place about a foot high, and cover with a bed of the same stones nearly reduced to powder. On this, they first place a bed of earth, brought either from other parts of the island, or taken out of the cliffs of the rocks; then a bed of dung; and afterwards a second bed of earth: such, indeed, is the perseverance of the proprietors of this ground, that it becomes in time equally fertile with natural land.

Malta and Goza produce fruits of exquisite flavour, excellent roots, and very fine flowers; the roses in particular are much sweeter scented than in any other country. These islands likewise yield great quantities of *comino*, *aniseed*, *kalimagnum*,



*loricella*, *silla*, and *lichen*; this last plant grows on the rocks exposed to the north, and is used for dyeing the amaranthus colour. *Silla* is peculiar to Malta and Goza, and is of a better quality in the last-mentioned island. This plant grows to the height of five feet, and bears a red flower. Tournefort calls it *hedysarum clypeatum flore suaviter rubente*. It serves for fodder, is sown in June, and mowed in May. The same ground is afterwards sown with corn, and the following year the *silla* comes up again of itself: it likewise shoots out the third year, but has then lost all strength and quality.

The gardens in Malta are generally ornamented with groves of orange and lemon trees; but these are not permitted to grow to any great height on account of the wind, which would blow off the fruit, and break the branches. The greatest attention is paid to the orange-trees, which are commonly watered twice a-day. Their tops are trimmed into a round form resembling an umbrella; and they grow on one single straight stem, as do likewise the lemon-trees, the branches of which are sometimes suffered to extend till they form a kind of bower. These trees are almost all raised in tubs, and placed in the most sheltered spots. Kitchen gardens are greatly encreased in Malta, and employ numbers of people: they produce vegetables of the finest quality. Water is constantly kept for their use in cisterns hewn out of the rock, and trenches are dug round them to collect the rain.

A great many bees are kept in some parts of the island;



the hives are horizontal in the eastern style, and are much more easy of access than those of another form. The Maltese honey is very sweet, and has a most delicious flavour; it is reckoned an excellent digestive, and the ancients compared it to the honey of Hybla. Cicero likewise mentions it as being superior to that of any other country\*.

There was formerly a breed of dogs (Pl. X. fig. B) in Malta with long silky hair, which were in great request in the time of the Romans; but have for some years past greatly dwindled, and indeed are become almost extinct. Buffon calls these dogs *bichons*, and describes them as mongrels between the small Spanish dog and the little *barbet*. Linnæus gives them the name of *Canis familiaris Mælitacus*; and says, that to prevent their growing too large, their spinal bone must be rubbed with spirits of wine mixed with oil, giving them at the same time very little to eat. These dogs were greatly admired by both Greeks and Romans. Aristotle mentions them as being most perfectly proportioned, notwithstanding their very small size; and Timon describes the Sybarites as going to the bath attended by little Maltese dogs.

The asses in Malta are likewise famous for strength and beauty; they sell extremely dear, and are called *janets*.

The ewes are incredibly fruitful, sometimes yeaving four at a time; indeed, this animal generally drops lambs three times a-year†.

\* In Verrem.

† See Houel.



Flights of birds of passage come to Malta and afford much amusement to sportsmen, who shoot them with great perseverance. The Maltese are remarkable for imitating the notes of different birds, and catch them with surprising skill. They have also a very long sight, and perceive falcons and others of the feathered race at a wonderful height in the air. They are excellent shots, and seldom miss those birds which they do not take in nets.

Beccaficos, quails, and plovers, are most delicate juicy food. These birds of passage are in much greater quantities some years than others; and the quails almost constantly arrive during the September equinox.

Fish is very abundant on the Maltese coast, and being both common and cheap, is a great resource to the inhabitants. The markets are filled with the finest fish from the Mediterranean; the oysters indeed are not good, their place is however plentifully supplied by a variety of other excellent shellfish. But notwithstanding all that has been said, and the extreme fertility of some parts of the island, Malta is still very far from being able to furnish its inhabitants with the necessities of life without foreign assistance. This is principally owing to the increase of population, which is augmented to a degree scarcely ever before known in history, and which is a stronger proof of the goodness of the government than any arguments ever advanced to the contrary.

The Maltese were not men who inhabited a fruitful



land, promising a plentiful harvest for the support of their numerous families, together with a superabundance of provisions enabling them to live with ease and comfort ; but a people living on a naturally barren soil, which scarcely afforded them bread for three months in the year ; and yet this people, as has been already observed, encreased and multiplied in a proportion unknown in all other countries. Malta in 1530 did not contain quite fifteen thousand inhabitants, and these were reduced to ten thousand at the raising of the siege in the grand-mastership of La Valette ; during that of Omedes, Goza was entirely depopulated ; and the plague in 1592 made terrible ravages on the island ; notwithstanding which, by the census taken in 1632 the population of the two islands amounted to fifty-one thousand seven hundred and fifty. Since that time, the Maltese have been almost constantly at war ; and great numbers were again destroyed by an infectious distemper in 1676 ; yet such was the encrease of population, that in 1798 Malta contained ninety thousand, and Goza twenty-four thousand, inhabitants\*.

\* The population of Europe is in the following proportion. On an equal space of ground on which there exists only one man in Iceland, there are

in Norway . . . . .	3
in Sweden . . . . .	14
in Turkey . . . . .	36
in Poland . . . . .	52
in Spain . . . . .	63
in Ireland . . . . .	99
in Switzerland . . . . .	114
in Great Britain . . . . .	119



Where is the country, may I venture to ask, which can boast of such an encrease, and such a continual state of prosperity? But the Maltese, who are naturally sober, require but little nourishment; besides, they were so perfectly contented with the mildness of a government which never taxed either the labour of their hands, or any other effort of industry, that they became too much attached to their country ever to leave it, well knowing that, in almost every other, both farmer and artificer were equally subject to burthensome taxes.

A sovereign who expends his revenue in his dominions, must necessarily greatly encrease the circulation of money, of which all his subjects must in some degree partake. This advantage, joined to the numerous institutions ever open to reward talents and industry, and at the same time to relieve the poor and unfortunate, so that idleness and poverty might be said to be unknown in Malta, rendered the inhabitants of that island but too happy under the government of the order; the opulence of which, alas! one moment served to destroy, together with the prosperity of the unfortunate Maltese!

When the productions of a country are insufficient for the

in Germany . . . . .	127
in England alone . . . . .	152
in France . . . . .	153
in Italy . . . . .	172
in the kingdom of Naples . . . .	192
in the Republic of Venice . . . .	196
in Holland . . . . .	224
in Malta . . . . .	1103



support of its inhabitants, trade must naturally present itself to view, as the means of procuring the necessaries of life ; but it may very easily be proved that Malta was become too populous to be supported by its commerce, unassisted by the riches and generosity of the order.

The principal trade of the island consisted in cotton, the growth of the country, and which was of a much superior quality to that brought from the Levant. It was exported either in bales, worked up into cloths and coarse stuffs, or in its spun state. The greatest part was sent into Spain for the manufactures in Catalonia.

The payments were made in piastres (pieces of eight), which the merchants sent to France, and there doubled their gains, by means of the profit they made in Malta on the different merchandises they brought from Marseilles.

By a very accurate extract from the books of the custom-house of the grand-master, exhibiting the exact quantity of cotton spun in Malta from the year 1788 to 1798, it appears that there was usually exported every year to the value of 2,750,000 French livres. This, with the export of their manufactured goods, joined to their home consumption, made the produce of the cotton in Malta and Goza amount to more than 3,000,000 French livres. (125,000*l.* sterling).

The other articles of commerce were but trifling, and consisted principally in ashes of *kalimagnum*, which the Maltese sent to Venice ; *lichen*, which they sold in Sicily ; oranges, sent



to all parts of the world ; orange-flower-water, put into copper bottles tinned, and called *stagnone* ; lemons ; preserved apricots, distinguished by the name of *Alexandrini* ; excellent pomegranates ; honey, which always remains in a liquid state : seeds of different kinds ; such as cabbage, brocoli, melon, cumin, and aniseed : kali of an excellent quality ; and Maltese stone, which was a great article of commerce in Sicily, the Levant, and particularly at Smyrna. They likewise exported some pieces of fillagree, a sort of work in which the Maltese greatly excelled ; also clocks, and boilers, which were as good and as lightly made as those from the Levant.

If the profit arising from the sale of so many different articles appears very great, it must be considered, on the other hand, that the Maltese were under the necessity of importing corn, cloth, wood, wine, oil, brandy, &c. The natural productions of the island were, indeed, but very trifling in comparison with what they were forced to buy from other countries ; and their profit from the above-mentioned articles would have been even insufficient to purchase grain for home consumption.

It is a certain fact, that the corn grown in Malta would not furnish more than one third of the inhabitants with bread ; we will therefore suppose that the islands of Malta and Goza contained a hundred thousand persons, and in that case it plainly appears that sixty-six thousand would have been absolutely destitute of food, had it not been for the corn imported from Sicily and other places.



The university in Malta was exclusively charged with the purchase of both wheat and barley for home consumption; and it appears, from an exact calculation of the grain imported during the last ten years, viz. from 1788 to 1798, that the said consumption amounted annually to 43,239 salmes of wheat, and 13,026 of barley\*. But as two salmes of barley furnish not quite equal sustenance to one of wheat, and the barley was in part for the use of different animals, one portion of wheat was estimated equal to three of barley; that is to say, 4342 salmes of wheat were calculated to afford more bread than the whole 13,026 salmes of barley imported every year; consequently, supposing the whole importation to have been in wheat, the quantity which the university was obliged to furnish annually, would amount to 47,381 salmes. There must likewise be added to the above quantity, about 9000 salmes of grain purchased from abroad with money taken out of the treasury, which served for the subsistence of the members of the order, for all its dependants, and for the considerable alms bestowed on the poor; so that the annual importation by the university and the treasury for food for the inhabitants, may be estimated at 56,581 salmes of wheat. A salme of wheat was sold in 1798 for 70 French livres 8 sols; consequently 56,581 salmes (the quantity wanted) would cost

\* A salme is equal to 430 French pounds, avoir-du-pois weight. It has been already proved, that this quantity of grain will support a man in the prime of life, or a woman and a young child, for a whole twelvemonth.



3,983,302 French livres 8 sols; which infinitely exceeded not only the annual product of the cotton in Malta and Goza, but all the other articles which composed the whole trade of the two islands.

To prevent the possibility of a scarcity of wheat, the order had large storehouses, not only in Malta, but at Augusta, Palermo, Girgenti, and particularly at Marseilles: added to which, was a building of not less importance at Risposta in Sicily, for preserving ice, or rather snow; and which cost 40,000 Maltese crowns.

The different articles exported from Malta being then insufficient, even for the purchase of grain, what could possibly make up this deficiency, and occasion such great abundance throughout the island? Nothing but the great sums expended annually by the order, which might be estimated at four millions of French livres. The expences of the treasury likewise amounted to three millions, to which might be fairly added one million spent by the knights of different languages residing in the convent. It therefore results, even from the confession of the person placed by the French at the head of the provisional government of Malta, “ that if the island of Malta ceased to be in the possession of the order, a great part of the inhabitants would be reduced to absolute beggary; for it is a certain fact, that, into whatsoever hands the island might happen to fall, it would be impossible for any power to circulate money in the same manner as the knights; consequently



the greater number of the Maltese would be in extreme distress."

Among the different objects which augmented the revenue of Malta, the prizes taken by privateers may very well be reckoned, and the booty they brought in procured them a variety of articles of trade: advantages they could not possibly have enjoyed under any other government.

The great number of foreign ships almost constantly in the Maltese ports, gave the inhabitants an opportunity of selling their provisions; but the exchange was seldom in their favour. If, therefore, the export of the productions of the island was profitable in one point of view, it became disadvantageous in another, since they lost in the value of money, what they could not dispose of in provisions.

The sovereign, in order to favour commerce as much as possible, took off all duties upon eatables; and the Maltese only paid three and a half per cent, export and import duties, whilst foreigners paid six and a third. The duty on a simple transit was only one per cent.

Many private individuals loaded vessels with snow for their own use, and the only duty received was by the hospital, which, in case of a scarcity of that article, had a right to keep it, even in preference to the proprietor himself.

The customs brought in about ninety or ninety-five thousand Maltese crowns to the grand-master; and the duty on wine, which he divided with the university, amounted one



year with another to fifty-three thousand. Nor was Malta without its offices of insurance : companies of speculators insured at reasonable rates, not only the property, but the lives, nay even the liberty, of the subject; and of course the cargoes of vessels, both inward and outward bound. The profits, whether in specie or commodities, were divided with the most scrupulous exactness ; and men who could not write, and were entirely unacquainted with the rules of arithmetic, made the calculations of their respective shares as accurately as the ablest accountants.

The laws fixed the interest of money at a half per cent per month, which amounted to six per cent per year ; notwithstanding which, the university generally obtained their loan at three per cent.

The Maltese ships, feluccas, boats, and *speronaras*, always hoisted either the colours of the order, or those of the grand-master ; and the greatest part were employed for the transport of corn and other provisions from Sicily. The boldness of these islanders was beyond all description ; and in their *speronaras*, a kind of shallop without deck, from twenty-four to thirty feet long, the crew consisting of only a *patron* and six rowers, they were to be seen in every part of the Mediterranean, venturing even through the Straits of Gibraltar, and landing at Cadiz. Smuggling being their principal occupation, they were obliged to sheer off the coast the moment they had taken in their lading : this frequently consisted of large live cattle, which the rowers lashed fast to the



benches, to prevent their being washed overboard ; and though constantly exposed to the dangers of a storm, they seldom experienced any serious misfortune.

The Maltese were equally able as speculators : many left the island possessed of considerable sums, and went to Genoa, where people of great fortune entrusted them with double the money they brought from Malta. With this they proceeded to Italy, where they bought quantities of merchandise, particularly silk for clothes, which they carried to Spain, Malaga, Alicante, Carthageña, and Cadiz ; and there sold, and purchased merchandise of another kind ; which they took to the Canaries, the Havannah, and even sometimes to Mexico and Peru. It is but lately that some Maltese merchants extended their voyage so far as Philadelphia, where they sold their European goods, and brought back the productions of America, which they disposed of to good account, and returned with considerable fortunes.

All causes relative to commerce were brought before the consular tribunal, instituted in 1697, in the city Valetta. The grand-master Perellos examined with the greatest accuracy all the rules and laws in use in the most celebrated commercial countries, and all affairs of that nature were determined from the result of his enquiries. The grand-master Rohan employed himself particularly in the jurisdiction of the consuls for trade, and by that means simplified and shortened the business.



The Maltese ships of war not only protected the commerce of their island, but that of all other christian states. The moment it was discovered from Malta, that one or more barbarian ships were cruising, the order immediately dispatched a force in pursuit. The infidels usually took the alarm, and after one or two attempts at resistance, retreated with precipitation.

So great was the terror inspired throughout the Levant by the forces of the order, that the French merchant ships reaped advantages beyond all calculation. The fear of being taken either by the Maltese privateers, or the ships of war belonging to the order, induced the Turkish merchants to entrust their goods to any nation at peace with Malta, and especially to France, as the power which had the greatest influence over the order; the ambassadors from that country having always been employed to arrange the different disputes between the Porte and the knights of Malta.



## C H A P. VII.

*The Climate of Malta; Degrees of Heat and Cold; principal Winds. Nature and Form of the Rocks in Malta and Goza; Influence of the Sea on these Rocks; their daily Diminution. Grottoes and subterraneous Places on the Sea-coast. Principal Fossils in Malta and Goza. Earth found in Malta of the same Quality as Kaolin. Plants of Malta. Culture of Fig-trees by Caprification. Description of a peculiar Species of Caterpillar.*

THE remarks on the climate of Malta which I here present to the reader will, perhaps, be more interesting from being the result of repeated experiments made by a very learned man, who, I am sorry to say, is much more remarkable for his great knowledge, than for his attachment to the order.

“ Reaumur’s thermometer in Malta during the summer is generally below 25 degrees, and scarcely ever above 28. In winter, it is very seldom lower than 8 degrees below the freezing point.

“ Heat and cold are not most felt when the thermometer is at either of the two extreme points of our temperature; for there is an almost constant contrast between our sensations and the instruments which measure the true temperature of the air, between sensible and real heat.

“ The different directions of the wind produce an instantaneous change from cold to heat, and from heat to cold. North or north-west winds always occasion cold; and a south



wind constantly brings heat. The violence with which they blow modifies the sensations they cause, and those produced by these winds become still stronger, because the atmosphere they put in motion is analogous to what we feel from real heat and extreme cold.

“ A north-west wind purifies the air in the greatest degree; a north-east wind is not quite so pure, and it becomes infinitely less so, when it changes to the south-east, or the south, but it grows rather better when it veers to the south-west, particularly if the sea be much agitated.

“ The north-west wind is purified by the vast expanse of sea which it passes over; but the north wind would suffer some degree of alteration from Italy and Sicily, if the great vegetation in those fine countries did not tend to purify the atmosphere. When the wind changes to the south it becomes dangerous, owing to its having passed over the barren burning continent of Africa, where there is scarcely any vegetation, and where the heat is so intense, that every thing susceptible of rarefaction in the earth produces exhalations which enter into the atmosphere. It is not purified by passing over the sea, because the channel is narrow, and being sheltered by the land, the water is not sufficiently agitated to absorb by its motion the mephitic miasmata with which the air is impregnated.

“ The extreme cold during winter is produced by the pure air which blows from the north. The winds act upon us



by their great violence, which continually renews the volume of air that surrounds us. The cold thus produced is easily avoided, by not exposing ourselves to the constant currents of air and violence of the wind.

“ In summer, when the wind blows from the south-east, the usual purity of the air is so greatly altered, that were it to change a few degrees more, it would be impossible to breathe, and the insensible perspiration of the body would form so thick an atmosphere, that suffocation must infallibly ensue.

“ The south winds never blow long at a time, seldom lasting more than three or four days. They are frequently succeeded by a calm, during which the heat is also very great, but much less oppressive and suffocating, though the thermometer frequently shews a much higher degree of real heat. The air is then infinitely more pure; and the sea breezes during the night, and, indeed, some part of the day, greatly refresh the atmosphere. This air is purified by passing over the water, which it gently agitates. There is also a morning land breeze, which, though less pure, cools the air in some degree. When the wind changes suddenly from the south to the north, we feel an astonishing lightness, our sensations are inexpressibly pleasant, and we breathe with the greatest freedom. It is a certain fact, that on these occasions the air becomes twenty or twenty-five degrees more pure, though there is no variation in the thermometer.

“ Nothing is more salutary during the sirocco than iced



beverages; they revive the spirits, strengthen the body, and assist digestion. Snow is therefore considered at Malta as one of the first necessities of life. It is brought from Sicily, and administered to the sick. Whenever there is a scarcity of this article, all that remains in the ice-houses is entirely reserved for the use of the hospitals.

“ There is another method much in vogue among the young Maltese, who, in order to guard against the ill effects of the sirocco, plunge into water, and come out by degrees without drying themselves, that the humidity on the skin may evaporate, by which means the vapour carries off not only some part of the heat of the body (it being an excellent conductor), but at the same time the miasmata of our insensible perspiration.”

To these observations on the climate of Malta, we think it necessary to add some equally important, on the physical formation, not only of that island, but of those of Cumin and Goza.

These three islands are calcareous rocks, which furnish very few objects worthy the attention of a naturalist. Indeed, some petrifications and calcareous concretions are the only fossil productions which deserve a place in a cabinet of natural history. But as there is no single spot on the whole surface of the globe which does not afford some curious observations in cosmogony, nor even a heap of stones which has not some reference to the ancient history of our world, and which



may not serve to give an idea of the theory of its original formation ; the island of Malta considered in that light, offers some interesting subjects deserving our attention.

Malta, Cumin, and Goza, are evidently only the remains of a large tract of land which extended towards the south-south-west, and which (owing in all probability to the solidity of the soil) have resisted the violence that caused the destruction of the country of which they originally made a part. Innumerable observations, made on the spot, confirm this opinion ; but at present it will be sufficient to prove the fact by some account of the physical formation of these islands.

Malta becomes much narrower, at the same time that it lengthens, from east-south-east to west-north-west ; the islands of Cumin and Goza are placed successively in the same direction, and are separated by narrow straits.

To have a just idea of Malta, we must figure to ourselves an inclined plane running from south-south-west to north-north-east, in such a manner that the calcareous strata (nearly parallel), of which it is almost entirely composed, rise towards the south and south-east nearly two hundred fathoms above the sea, which dashes against the bottom of these declivities. At the same time on the opposite side they are of a considerable length, and decline insensibly, till they become level with the sea. The direction of these strata, together with their exact correspondence with the opposite parts, consisting of



defiles and valleys, evidently shew what was the real shape of the island when the strata deposited by the sea ceased to accumulate: even since that time it has undergone great vicissitudes. The regularity of this work has been changed, a great part of the upper stratum destroyed, and that vast body of regularly parallel strata so worn, hollowed out, and ploughed by the violence of the currents, that it is scarcely possible to trace—such is the disorder which reigns throughout the mountains, defiles, hills, and vales—the system which joins them together, and points out the origin of their formation.

The broadest part of the island, the least wasted, and the flattest (though sufficiently elevated), is that to the east of the city Valetta; it is consequently more peopled, and easier cultivated; though here, as in all other places, the rock is entirely naked, except where the industry of the inhabitants has placed a layer of earth to encourage vegetation.

The principal defiles and valleys run constantly from south-south-west to north-east; which is their natural direction, for they have all been formed out of the rock by the violent currents of water rushing from the heights. These valleys extend to that part of the sea where the coast is almost level, and there form those fine ports which make this island so very important for trade and navigation. Smaller valleys have in process of time been formed, taking a contrary direction to the principal ones, and the united waters of these form the differ-



ent ports which communicate with that of the city, which with a gentle curve extends into the valley of Marsa, of which it is a continuation.

This valley, now the broadest, the most extensive and fertile in the whole island, was formerly almost entirely sea: indeed, it is not very long since the tide came up as far as Casal Fornaro; but the accretion of vegetable earth from the higher lands, the fragments of the surrounding rocks, the hand of the labourer, and above all the influx of sand, &c. occasioned by the force of the sea when the wind is at north-east, have by degrees entirely filled it up. In a short time the bottom of the port will be equally filled, and might be so still sooner, by making basins, into which the sea could be conveyed by dykes, and where from its calm state it would deposit that matter which is kept back when the water is greatly agitated. The basin in the midst of a small plain, called Little Marsa, is already nearly choaked up, and that without any means having been employed for the purpose.

The valleys are longer and deeper in proportion as they extend from east to west. One very wide extends itself under the casals \* of Mosta, Nasciar, and Gharghul, and terminates at the port of the salt-works. It is bounded to the right by a chain of craggy rocks which run across the whole breadth of the island, and divide it into two parts. This boundary, formed by the

\* Villages.



hand of nature, has been made the means of defence to Malta, by intrenchments formed in the rocks, and seems to be regarded as such by the inhabitants; for beyond it, towards the west, there are no villages, and scarcely any cultivated land. The port or creek of Melleha penetrates so far into the inland country, that it almost divides the island, which is very narrow in that part; and there is every reason to believe, that the straits which occasion Cumin to be insular are only the extension of two valleys, the upper part of which has been destroyed; and such would be the state of the ports which flank the city Valetta, if any circumstance should destroy the part of the island beyond Pieta and casal Nuovo.

Goza stands much higher than Malta, and is entirely surrounded by perpendicular rocks: the highest are to the west and south, where they are tremendously steep. The opposite cliffs of Malta and Goza are correspondent; but though there are some valleys in the same direction as those of Malta, they do not afford any ports, on account of the height of the land, and its breadth.

The country is not so uneven as at Malta, consequently more easily cultivated; and it appears that the surface was originally nearly horizontal. The rock, however, is decidedly of the same nature in both islands, where are equally mountains, some single, some forming chains, the summits of which are for the most part flat. It is very evident that these summits made part of the original surface, when the whole was



incrusted by a stratum of a harder heavier kind of stone of a closer grain, which is now never met with but in that elevated land, which corresponds with the inclination of the strata. The lower stratum is more or less consistent and hard, or more or less dissoluble when exposed to the air. Some strata are also formed of a black, ferruginous, calcareous sand, slightly stuck together by a kind of calcareous lime.

At the back of these rocks in Malta, and in the clefts of the mountains in Goza, are heaps composed of grey clay, evidently no native of the soil, and which must have accumulated since the excavation of those mountains. It is found in hollows, which no doubt were formerly entirely empty. The above-mentioned heaps but feebly resisting the force of water rushing impetuously down their sides, the constant cataracts have made deep furrows in them, and modelled them into their present form.

On summing up the preceding facts, the question may be fairly asked, from whence came the clay of Malta and Goza? How could it possibly have got over the craggy rocks of the latter island, unless they had both been formerly joined to a higher land, from whence this clay descended, or unless by an imperceptible declivity it had been driven by the sea into its present situation? Whence likewise came the red clay, a kind of virgin earth, which fills up the vertical clefts in the rocks? The water which formed these valleys must have been in great abundance, since it had sufficient force to wear away a rock,



which, though not very hard, must still have offered some degree of resistance.

This island, such as it is at present, could never have produced such considerable torrents, for after the heaviest rains in winter there are scarcely more than some small temporary rivulets, and those in the lowest part of the valleys. The perpendicular rocks could not naturally have existed in a mass formed by the successive accumulation of sand from the sea. The same strata which we perceive in these rocks must have extended till they had met with a declivity, or a curve, to reconduct them to a level with the bottom of the sea. There cannot be a doubt but that the island of Malta made formerly part of a mountain, which had the same declivities and valleys on the other side. The rocks, its boundaries to the south, east, and west, could have been formed only by the falling-in and destruction of what made their sides, particularly as the sea is extremely deep at the basis of them. In the whole circumference of the three islands, evident marks of corrosion may be perceived. The rocks at some distance from the coast are the mere remains of that part which has been destroyed. In fine, the shape of these islands, all the local circumstances, and a variety of phenomena, decidedly prove that there must have been a great extent of land towards the south and west, and that it must have been destroyed by some very violent cause out of the common course of nature. It appears that this destructive shock came from the west, and that it acted with the greatest



force against every thing adjoining to the island of Goza. According to our knowledge of natural history, and the causes which produce such extraordinary effects, we can only attribute the present state of things to an immense body of water, which, being agitated by an earthquake, carried away the first land which it met with it in its passage; by which means Goza is become of a circular form, and clefts are excavated at the foot of the rocks which offered most resistance; such as those which form cape San Demetri. It also destroyed that part of the mountain which united the three islands, and this inundation has stripped them of all vegetable earth, of which only some small patches remain in the clefts of rocks, where it was sheltered from the fury of the waves. The island of Goza was so situated as to defend Malta, and by that means the northern coast has not undergone such changes as the southern. A variety of observations made in Sicily and Italy prove that an extraordinary motion in that mass of water had taken place, and the most terrible effects were produced; but to enter into more minute particulars would interfere with the plan of this work.

The facts we have now pointed out may be known and verified by all who will attend to the circumstances; but what must still remain matter of conjecture, is the original extent of this land, its relation with the continent of Africa, and the time when this convulsion took place.

I believe that since Malta was first inhabited, the island



has in some degree diminished. This seems proved by the marks of wheels, which may be traced close to the above-mentioned cliffs. Rocks likewise frequently fall in, owing either to the sea working its way under them, or to the incidental destruction of the lower strata.

The soft kind of stone in Malta and Goza is always more or less inclined to waste and dissolve when exposed to the air; it also undergoes a kind of saline efflorescence which reduces it to powder, and this effect is hastened by different accidents, and particular situations. The stones exposed to the air towards the south, are much sooner dissolved than in any other aspect; but nothing wastes them in so short a time as the sea-water, one single drop of which suffices to rot them presently; and though only one stone should be touched, it frequently communicates itself to the next, and by this means speedily destroys, not only a whole rock, but a whole building, if a stone thus affected should happen to be employed in its construction. A sort of saline crust composed of nitre with alkaline at bottom and sea-salt is formed over the stone, part of which is no sooner crumbled to powder, than the crust drops off, and others continue forming till the whole of the stone is entirely destroyed. This effect, I believe, is principally produced by the humidity which the sea-salt with earthy particles at the bottom contained in sea-water always attracts; and this humidity is the principal vehicle for the production of nitre, if at the same time other circumstances concur for



that purpose. I have already observed, that the stones most liable to this spontaneous destruction are those which contain the most magnesia, from which this soft kind is never entirely free.

In the craggy rocks round Malta and Goza are many spacious caves or grottoes ; some of which being on a level with the sea, the waves dash in, when in an agitated state, and resound tremendously. The mouths of others are at different heights, and the access is more or less difficult and dangerous according to their situation ; there are some, indeed, in order to enter which it is necessary to be suspended by ropes. One of the most considerable of those usually visited is situate towards the point of land called *Benkisa*, near the Marsa Sirocco creek. This, from its length and breadth, is distinguished by the name of the *Great*, and it extends more than two hundred paces under ground.

All these grottoes are full of *stalactites* and *stalagmites*, produced by the water filtering through the calcareous rock. The falling-in of one of these caverns must have caused the singular excavation called *Makluba*, near casal Zorick, which certainly deserves to be seen. At the distance of a hundred paces to the south of the shore, and not far from the rocks on the coast, there is a circular, or rather an oval, cavity more than a hundred feet in depth, and formed like an imperfect cone. The larger diameter of the lower plain is about ninety-five paces, and that of the smaller one, eighty ; but the opening is less



than twenty paces. This excavation is in those shelving cliffs which incline a little from south to north, and have hitherto suffered no change, but have remained exactly as if this, in part, circular space had been the work of art.

On examining the state of the lower ranges of rock, I remarked that they were corroded in the same manner as the others exposed to the fury of the waves. The surface of them is unequal and hollow; but they have, notwithstanding, a sort of polish, and a harder coat than the rest of the stone; whereas the upper ledges have suffered the same degree of corrosion which affects all the Maltese rocks when exposed to the air, and which is very different from the basis. There is a great depth of vegetable earth in the lower plain; but though they have frequently dug very low they have never been able to find a bottom. All these circumstances infallibly prove, that the great hollow was occasioned by the falling-in of a vast cavern, which communicated to the sea; and the time when this happened cannot have been very remote. Above the space which has sunk in, there appears to have been some habitation, for there is a well fifty feet deep in the part of the rock into which stairs have been made to descend. It was formerly deeper, but has been since filled up by earth from the neighbouring hills; the mouth of this excavation being situated in a kind of small valley. The word *Makluba* signifies *overturned*.

There are blocks and detached pieces of a blackish and



reddish calcareous stone to be found in different places in Malta, particularly in the part of Benkisa near Marsa Sirocco. These have a false appearance of *lava*, or of burnt stone with small pores, and when rubbed, exhale a very strong and disagreeable smell. On being dissolved by means of acids, there remains swimming on the top a black oily scum which occasions the disagreeable smell. This *lapis suillus* has certainly been impregnated with the oil of some cetaceous fish: I am ignorant whether there are any particular strata composed of it.

As I wish to comprise every thing relative to the natural history of Malta and Goza in this chapter, I will first enumerate the principal fossils found in these two islands, and afterwards describe the nature and quality of the earth called Maltese earth, an accurate knowledge of which may be of great utility. At the end of the chapter the reader will find a catalogue of those plants which have been cultivated in Malta with the greatest success.

The principal fossils of Malta and Goza are the following:

1. *Pyrites martiales* and *conchæ pyritosæ martiales*, found in different clayey hills, particularly in one near the town of Goza. When these fossils were first discovered, it was imagined they made part of a gold mine; and some speculators threw away their money in making experiments, but the hopes they had cherished of great riches, presently vanished into air.

2. *Gypsum*, in those forms which are commonly called



*cuneiform* and *specular gypsum* ; this is formed in separate spots in the same clay : the pieces are sometimes very large, but seldom regularly crystallised.

3. *Calcareous alabasters*. Those of Goza are yellow, slightly veined, and sometimes semi-transparent like the antique alabaster. They are also hard and compact, and there are lumps and blocks sufficiently large to make pillars and urns of a great size if they were worked for that purpose, but hitherto nothing has been made but tables. Alabaster is found in Goza on the top of mountains ; and it is observable, that it forms itself by accretion in those cavities which accident has wrought in the common calcareous mass. The Maltese alabaster exists in large blocks, separated from each other, on the sea coast ; the top and middle of the calcareous stone are brown with circular veins. This is not so hard and compact as the yellow kind, and is liable to a variety of incidental imperfections, such as being full of cavities and earthy stony parts, which prevent its being employed for works of any magnitude, &c. It derives its dusky colour from a thick and oily sort of matter.

4. A variety of *calcareous stalactites* formed in grottoes. These are real alabaster in concentric beds.

5. Remains of the back and jaw bones of various cetaceous animals. These have been found in the calcareous mass in many parts of the two islands, and in a bed of calcareous ferruginous and black sand, which has given them a tinge of



the same colour. These, however, are scarce: they are partly petrified, that is to say, a calcareous lapidifical moisture has penetrated into the bony texture.

6. *Glossopetra*, or more properly *odontopetra*, or fish-teeth of different shapes and sizes, the greatest part of which belonged to the *phoca* or sea-cow, the *lamia* or shark, different sorts of sea-dogs, and to some particular species of skate. Part of these teeth are indented at the edge, and part entirely smooth; the largest are seven inches long, of a flat triangular form, with a bifurcated or two-fanged root: there are others only one inch in length, pointed, almost conical, with roots also bifurcated, and shaped like birds' and serpents' tongues. Most of these teeth have preserved their grey and shining enamel in such a manner that the filtration could not penetrate through them; they are therefore not petrified in the inside, and have not lost their bony texture. Those roots which have not been guarded from the filtration are become stony.

*Odontopetra* are common in Malta, and particularly in Goza, where they are found enclosed and scattered about in the soft stone of these islands. I never heard whether a jaw-bone was ever discovered with this kind of teeth.

7. *Crapaudina*, *Bufo*, or serpents' eyes: these are likewise *odontopetra*, or fish-teeth of a hemispherical, conical, or oval form. They belonged to the gilt-head, and other fish of the same kind; they are whitish, grey, yellow, black, or with concentric circles of different colours, having a central



point which gives them the appearance of an eye, and from that circumstance they take their name. These teeth are of different sizes, from one line to four in diameter ; they are concave within, and are in a state of half petrification. There are great numbers in Malta, but those only with concentric zones are in any estimation, and the large ones of that kind are very scarce.

8. *Odontopetra* which belonged to the *hippopotamus*, or river horse. These were the grinders of these animals, and are almost all square with obtuse conical pre-eminences ; there are some eight inches on the surface, but they are seldom found entire. The part which has no enamel is petrified. This kind of *odontopetra* is far from common.

9. *Asteriæ*, *entochitæ*, and other detached parts of the vertebræ of the encrinus.

10. *Echinites* of different shapes and sizes : the most remarkable are the hemispherical, some of which are seven inches in diameter ; others, equally large, are pentagonal, pyramidal, or shaped like an imperfect pyramid. Some are almost round, others are compressed and almost flat, and all are distinguished by names analogous to their shape ; such as, *echinites*, *galcati*, *pyramidales*, *scutati*, *discoïdes*, *rotulati*, &c.—These large *echiniti* are changed into calcareous spar of a yellow or white colour ; the inside is either empty, or filled with a white or yellow earth, according to the colour of the outside of the spar. The *echinites* are found in pretty large quantities in the



craggy parts of Malta; in the soft stone, or in those beds of black sand which are but weakly agglutinated.

There is a great variety of *echinites* of a smaller size, such as the *gobulares*, the *spatagoidæ*, or shaped like a heart, the *clunicunares*, *natifformes*, &c. The exterior part is changed into white spar, and the inside filled with the same calcareous white and tender stone in which they are found in such great quantities. Some among them are much squeezed, but the greatest number have preserved the same shape and position as in the sea.

Fragments of *echinites* are also found in Malta; these are shaped like shields, and are called *assulæ*, *quinquangulares*, *hexangulares*, *mamillares*, *orbiculares*, &c.: likewise pieces of small bones of the same fish, but no Judea stones.

11. Number of fossil shells of different families, some of which have the upper part half petrified, whilst the impression of others only remains. The only remarkable ones among the former are the *dentalites*, or sea-tubes, two inches thick, and frequently many feet in length. When they are in a circular form, they resemble petrified serpents.

*Ostracites*, shaped like cocks' combs, and rakes; and some very large *pectinites*, with and without ears.

The impressions of shells are either black or white according to the colour of the earth. The most remarkable are the *dactilites*, and *pholadites*. The impression of the inside of a small *terebratula*, which is exactly of the shape, size,



and colour of hemp-seed : there are great quantities in the rocks near casal Ghargul. Some *cardites* of a great size, &c.

Many of these fossils are found in the hills and mountains near the old city, where there are banks almost entirely composed of them. All the rocks in the island likewise contain some of the same kind.

12. And lastly, quantities of *lithophytæ* and *madreporites* of different sorts and sizes, among which there is nothing very remarkable. These are found in the steep part of the rocks towards the south, and particularly near a place called *Bahria*. Some large rocks are entirely composed of them; and near them other rocks full of *ostracites*.

Having thus endeavoured to give some idea of the fossils in Malta and Goza, I shall next briefly describe the nature and quality of the Maltese earth called *terra Melitensis*, of which there are two sorts: The one is an earth very compact and heavy; it is extremely white on being first dug up, but becomes yellowish as it dries; the surface is smooth and polished, and on being put into the mouth, it adheres to the tongue, but soon melts like butter. It is never in an effervescent state on being mixed with acid, and the fire has no effect on its colour; this earth is reckoned cordial and sudorific, and resembles the *Lemnos earth*, which was always greatly esteemed in medicine. *Valmont de Bomare* distinguishes it by the name of *terra sigillata Melitæ*.

The second kind is calcareous, very light, and falls into



powder on being exposed to the air; when dry, it becomes of a greyish colour, is friable, and rough to the touch. It effervesces when mixed with acid, and may be regarded as a species of chalk or marl. The vulgar esteem it as a great antidote against the bite of venomous animals.

Father d'Entrecolles\* is of opinion, that this second kind of earth, also termed *St. Paul's earth*, has in its matrix something of the *kaolin*, which gives firmness and consistence to the porcelain made in China. Frequent experiments † made on the Maltese earth, prove it to be very much of the same quality as the kaolin, though without the silver particles scattered throughout the latter. Valerius calls this earth *marga porcellana*; and the repeated experiments which have been made, give hopes that this article will form a new and advantageous branch of commerce for Malta.

---

I HAVE already given some account of several of the vegetable productions of Malta, which are important on account of their value in commerce, or their uses in medicine;

\* See description of the materials which compose porcelain, in the collection of *Lettres Edifiantes copiées dans l'Histoire de la Chine du Père du Halde*, Vol. II. page 179.

† Particularly at Rome in 1790. Prince Lambertini having received from the author of *Les Recherches Historiques et Politiques*, a box filled with these two sorts of earth, made a variety of experiments, and found them of the same quality as the kaolin.

This description of the Maltese earth is taken from the said *Recherches Historiques*, which I have found a very useful work on different occasions.



such as the cotton-plant, and the *fungus Melitensis*; and have annexed to this chapter a botanical catalogue of the principal plants of Malta. I shall here add some particulars relative to one of the most valuable trees with which nature has enriched the warmer climates, and the propagation of which cannot be too much encouraged\*: I mean the fig-tree, which produces one of the mildest, most salutary, and agreeable fruits. Figs when dried in the oven, furnish, with a little barley-bread, the principal sustenance of the numerous and finely-formed inhabitants of the islands of the Archipelago.

Though it is usual to distinguish different species of fig-trees, the greater part of them can, in fact, only be considered as varieties. I shall here confine myself to treat only of the domestic fig-tree, and the wild fig-tree.

The former of these (*figus sativa*) † is a tree of a middling height, branching and bushy, but never very large, because it throws out from the root a great number of shoots. The wood of it is of a whitish colour, soft and pithy. It is seldom used except by locksmiths and armourers, because, being spongy, it easily imbibes a great quantity of oil and powder of emery, which they use to polish their work. The leaves of this tree are larger than those of any other fruit-tree; they are rough

\* Messrs. La Quintaine, Bradley, and Miller, have assiduously laboured to bring to perfection the culture of fig-trees.

† See *Vahnout de Bomare, Dict. Rais. Univers. d'Histoire Nat. art. Figues.*



and of a deep green colour. It is essential to prune the tree before the sap is in motion ; for when the branches are cut, a milky juice, with which they abound, exudes, and the loss of this nutritious liquor necessarily enfeebles the tree. This milky juice is bitter, acrid, and so corrosive, that it will coagulate milk like rennet, dissolve its curd like vinegar, and when applied to the skin, penetrate it, and make indelible marks. By this quality, it frequently cures warts and other disagreeable excrescences.

The fig-tree, differing in this from other fruit-trees, bears its fruit on the large branches. The figs grow at the origin of the leaves, without having been preceded by any apparent flower, which has occasioned doubts whether the tree produces any. But the flowers are concealed within the fruit, on opening which, at a proper time, we may perceive in the inside, round the crown of the fruit, the male flowers, which are stamina supported by small stylets ; and the female, which are situate near the pedicle. These flowers are succeeded by small hard seeds.

The fruit of the fig-tree is larger or smaller, more or less round, and varies in its colour, according to the different species of the tree on which it is produced ; but it always approaches to the figure of a pear. When perfectly ripe, it is extremely soft and succulent. Naturalists have enumerated thirty varieties of the fig-tree ; of which the two that succeed best in cultivation, are those that bear the figs universally



known by the names of the *round-fig*, and the *long-fig*. The latter bears most fruit; the former is the earliest; and both are excellent.

The fig-tree thrives best, in general, in light soils; but it also succeeds extremely well in stony grounds; and a good aspect renders its fruit more sweet and delicious. This tree is of a very delicate temperament, and cannot withstand the frost, except when covered with straw, or sheltered in a greenhouse.

The wild fig-tree (*caprificus*) resembles, in all its parts, the domestic fig-tree, of which it appears to be, in some measure, only a variety; but it bears fruits that serve for *caprification*, of which the ancients have said so much, but which many learned men have treated as a fabulous, at least useless, operation\*.

This operation consists in suspending in different parts of a domestic fig-tree, several wild figs strung on a thread. The flies or gnats which issue from these, introduce themselves into

\* M. de Tournefort had opportunities during his travels in the Levant, to observe the process used by the natives of the Archipelago in the caprification of fig-trees. The various objects to which he had to attend, not having permitted him to enter into all the particulars necessary thoroughly to understand the nature of this operation, he contented himself with merely relating the facts he had witnessed, in a memoir on the diseases of plants, which he read to the Academy of Sciences in 1705. M. Godcheu de Riville, knight of Malta, undertook to examine this subject, and, after a variety of researches and experiments, communicated the result of his enquiries to M. de Reaumur, in a letter which was printed in the mathematical and physical part of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences; Paris*, 4to. tom. 1 p 170—190. I have principally taken him as my guide on this subject, consulting also M. Valmont de Bomare.



the umbilicus of the domestic figs, and by their punctures cause in them a fermentation which contributes to their ripening. A careful examination of the history of the wild fig has divested this operation of what is apparently wonderful in it, and demonstrated its utility.

The wild fig-tree, or *caprificus*, known at Malta by the name of *tokar*, is the *ornos* of the isles of the Archipelago. The three kinds of fruit which it bears in the course of the year, have names in the Maltese language corresponding to those given them by the Greeks. Thus the *tokarleonel* in Maltese answer to the *fornites* of the Greeks, the *tokarlanos* to the *cratirites*, and the *tokartayept* to the *orni*. *Tokarleonel*, or *fornites*, are the figs of autumn, which appear in the month of August, and continue till November without ripening. In them are engendered small worms, produced from eggs deposited by a kind of gnats, which are only found in the neighbourhood of the wild fig-trees. These worms are a species of very small ichneumons, of a shining black colour. In the months of October and November, having become gnats, they puncture the second fruits or *tokarlanos*, the *cratirites* of the Greeks, which do not appear till the end of September, and which may be called winter figs. The autumnal figs fall soon after the gnats have been produced, but the winter figs remain on the tree till the month of May following, and contain the eggs which have been deposited by the gnats of the autumnal figs. In the month of May, the *tokartayept*, or *orni*, which may be called



the spring figs, begin to appear. When they have attained a certain size, and their eye begins to open, they are pierced in that part by the gnats produced in the winter figs; though this is sometimes not necessary for the gnats to introduce themselves into the fig, as they are able to make a passage through the leaves that close the umbilicus. This opening, made by the two teeth with which the heads of these little ichneumons are armed, afterwards closes, and the eye of the fig does not again open till three or four days before the gnats issue from the fruit. The skin of the wild figs is sleek, smooth, and of a deep green: no puncture of the insects is discernible on the external surface. When near maturity they grow soft, and become yellowish. On opening them, we find their interior construction similar to that of the domestic fig\*, that is to say, the leaves are in the upper part, nearest to the umbilicus, the stamina next, and then follow the seeds, which are a kind of kernels filled with small grains, and which occupy the greatest space.

The wild figs, whatever may be their degree of maturity, have no sweet and luscious liquor; their inside is always dry and farinaceous. When they are become nearly as large as nuts, the gnats make their entrance by the umbilicus, and deposit in them their eggs; roving at first about the inside. All those which these insects neglect to enter in

\* See La Hire,—*Mémoires de l'Académie*, 1712.



this manner languish, their kernels will not grow, and at length they become dry and shrivelled, and fall off without ripening. Those on the contrary that are fecundated by the puncture of the gnats, visibly increase in size, and the seeds, which are larger than in the domestic fig, soon fill the whole inside of the fruit.

Every kernel of the fig is the habitation of a gnat; and if the integument of the seed in which these insects are inclosed be opened at a proper time, they will come out, and after having dried their wings in the sun for a few minutes fly away. On examining these kernels before the fig is perfectly ripe, we discover on their surface, with the aid of a strong magnifier, some small brown spots, imperceptible to the naked eye; and after having detached the upper part with very fine scissars, we perceive some *living particles*, that is to say, well-formed *nymphs*. As soon as the small worms are disclosed, they pierce the yet tender membrane of the seed, feed on the kernel it contains, and remain there as in a habitation very convenient for their metamorphosis. These worms are never found roving in the inside of the figs, but after having thus lived a certain time under this form, they are metamorphosed into gnats, having a long auger in the hinder part of their bodies.

These insects, from their retired situation, and their extreme minuteness, it would seem must be exempt from enemies; they have, however, two which are very formidable to



them. One is a small ichneumon, of a cinnamon colour, with a very long auger; and the other an insect with a scaly head and corslet: its hinder part is formed like a tail annexed to the corslet; and its head, which only adheres to the body by a very small ligature, is armed with two teeth. These likewise have their lodgment in the kernels of the fig, like the other gnats. The latter species does not appear to be intended to fly: it leaves the eye of the fig, without becoming a winged insect.

This account of the wild fig-tree and the gnats which take up their abode in it, appears to be sufficient. I shall now proceed to point out the species of domestic fig-trees, to the fructification of which the wild fig-tree is advantageous by caprification.

There are seven or eight different species of fig-trees at Malta, but caprification is only used for two of them.

The first gives two gatherings in the year, one in June, when the figs which do not ripen till the latter end of the month are succulent and larger than in France; the other in August, when the figs gathered during the whole course of the month are less delicate and smaller. The earlier ones do not require, like the latter, to be caprificated.

The second species, the same with that which is so fruitful in the Isles of the Archipelago, bears only once a-year: the figs are small, of a whitish colour, and sweet, without much taste.



But whence arises the necessity of caprificating these two species of fig-trees more particularly than the others? It is certain that the tree of the first species which has produced a great quantity of large and succulent figs, is, so to speak, exhausted, and has not strength to furnish sufficient nourishment to the second figs, which begin to appear at the time when the first are ripe; consequently these second figs, not receiving the nutritious juice necessary to them, will fall before they are ripe; and this inconvenience can only be remedied by caprification. The introduction of the gnats causes a fermentation in them which accelerates their ripening, in the same manner as worm-eaten fruits always ripen before those that are sound. Hence the figs which would be two months before they would be ripe, will be fit to eat three weeks earlier; and when the time of their fall is arrived, the quantity will be much greater. Many individuals do not caprificate their second figs, to avoid fatiguing their trees; for experience has shewn, that the crop of first figs is usually bad in the year following caprification, because the fig-tree has been forced to nourish too great a quantity of fruit in the same year.

Let us now examine what are the reasons for the caprification of the second species of figs. They are the same as in the former case, though the object of the operation is different. I have already mentioned the quantity of fruit which this tree bears: it is such that frequently the branches cannot be seen on account of the figs with which they are loaded. When the



caprification of this kind of fig-tree is neglected, a great quantity of the fruit falls before it ripens, because the tree is overloaded with it. The difference of the produce of a caprificated tree from that of another which has not undergone this operation, is immense; since a fig-tree which would scarcely yield twenty-five pounds of figs that should be ripe and proper for drying, will in consequence of this mode of treatment, produce more than two hundred and eighty pounds.

It is to be observed that the figs which are not caprificated artificially, but only by the accidental removal of the gnats from one fig-tree to another, are much preferable to the others; whence it is that the figs of Provence, where the practice of caprification is unknown, notwithstanding the same species of fig-tree is cultivated there as at Malta and in the Levant, are much superior to the dried figs of the Archipelago. It is also to be remarked that the heat of the sun which is sufficient to dry the figs that have not been caprificated, is not so for those that have undergone this operation. They must be dried in the oven; which gives them a disagreeable taste, but is necessary to destroy the eggs of the insects which they contain.

Caprification by the suspension of wild figs, though most in use, is not, however, the only method employed to hasten the maturity of figs. If, by chance, the peasants of the Levant, who know with wonderful exactness the precious moment for caprification, suffer it to elapse, they have recourse to an expedient which frequently succeeds. It consists in spreading



over the domestic figs the flowers of a plant which they call *ascolimbos* or *skolimos*, and in which are sometimes found gnats that will pierce the figs ; or perhaps the gnats of the wild figs seek their food in these flowers. This caprification, when it succeeds, completely supplies the place, in the effect it produces, of that which had been neglected.

Some persons have also employed with success another method for hastening the maturity of figs without depriving them of any part of their good qualities, by putting with a pencil a little olive oil on the eye of the fig, or pricking it with an oiled feather or straw\*.

This fruit, so salutary and useful, because it makes a part of the food of the people among whom it is produced in abundance, becomes dangerous when it has not acquired a perfect maturity; which is known by its still containing a milky liquor in its pedicle and skin. It then causes dysenteries and fevers. Water is the liquor most proper to dilute the pulp of figs in the stomach, and to remedy a certain inconvenient viscosity of the saliva. As to dried figs, they are esteemed pectoral and emollient.

It now only remains for me to refute an error too commonly received, *viz.* that the wild fig-tree is the male of the domestic fig-tree. Pontedera, who conceived this idea, supposes that the former furnishes the farina, or dust of the sta-

\* See Du Hamel. He thinks that in this case the oil produces nearly the same effect as the insects in caprification.



mina, necessary to fecundate the fruits of the latter; and that the gnats are the bearers of this dust, which they deposit in the figs into which they introduce themselves. But had he attentively considered the gnats when they first come out of the wild-fig, he would have seen that they are, indeed, then covered with a white dust, derived in part from the stamina through which they have made their way, and from the inside of the fig, which is farinaceous; by continuing his observations, he would also have perceived, that immediately on their leaving the fig they employ six or seven minutes in drying their wings in the sun, and in disengaging them from the dust with which they are incumbered; and that when they take their flight not the slightest vestige of this dust remains, but that they are of a shining black colour when they make their way into the domestic figs. This fact entirely subverts the principle on which this observer and his partisans appear to have founded their system of fecundation.

The island of Malta is not prolific in insects; the small quantity of earth with which the rock is covered, and the great drought which prevails there during six or seven months in the year, deprive it of the trees and plants which those who wish to study this part of natural history ought to have continually before their eyes.

Among the different species of caterpillars found here, there is one of a very singular conformation, having no feet. The chevalier Godheu de Riville, who calls it *chenille mineuse*



*des feuilles de vigne* (the caterpillar which *mines* or cuts the leaves of the vine), has given its history with the greatest care. He has described with the most accurate minuteness the structure of its body, the manner in which it forms its pod or cone, the means it employs for progressive motion and the removal of its habitation, and the different metamorphoses it undergoes \*. The skin of this caterpillar is perforated by an infinity of small holes almost invisible. Several extremely fine hairs grow irregularly on different parts of the body. The head, which is scaly, as well as the upper and under part of the first ring (the rest being membranous), has more of these hairs than the other parts. The head is sometimes concealed under the first ring, which, like all the rest, is not perfectly cylindrical. It is formed, like that of other caterpillars, of two scaly parts; except, however, that these two parts are more sloped behind than before. The vacant spaces are filled by two membranes, which are more transparent than the scaly parts. The head has in front two small teeth with which these caterpillars work, or dissect the leaves by gradually detaching from them the parenchyma. They work first lengthwise, and afterwards breadthwise. It is to be remarked, that every place eaten away has, near the part where the insect has last been, an oval perforation of a middling size. The two membranes between which this

\* See *Mémoires de Mathématiques et de Physiques, présentés à l'Académie Royale de Sciences : Paris 4to. 1750, tom. I. page 177—190. Histoire d'une Chenille mineuse des Feuilles de Vigne : extraite d'une lettre de Malthe à M. de Reaumur, par M. Godheu de Riville, Chev. de Malthe.*



aperture is formed are separated, and appear as if a piece had been taken out by a pair of nippers; which piece serves to form the pod or cone of the caterpillar. These pods are ovals; they adhere to the leaf by one of their extremities, and are always perpendicular to the plane on which they are fixed. The following is the manner in which they are constructed.

When a caterpillar of this kind has attained its full size, a stripe of a very beautiful green appears through the whole length of its body, which is occasioned by the quantity of nourishment it then takes, like all other caterpillars. Soon afterwards it prepares to make a lodgment in which it may undergo its transformation. This it usually forms in the place where it has last worked, the other extremity being filled with excrements. When it works only for food, it forms no kind of ridge in the epidermes between which it is lodged: it is, however, sufficiently closed in; since, wherever it is, a small elevation formed by the thickness of its body may be distinguished, which varies as it changes its place; apparently because, this caterpillar being destitute of feet, the friction of the rings against the membranes is advantageous to it for its removal from place to place, and its progress in proportion as it consumes the parenchyma. It is, however, able to form itself a more commodious lodgment in which to pass the time that it remains in the chrysalis state. This it constructs by forming on the two epidermes two ridges, precisely opposite to each other, and which extend the whole length of the oval. By



this means the two membranes assume a concavity which renders the habitation more spacious.

The caterpillar proceeds in this operation in the following manner. It begins by tracing on the membrane which is on the side of its implement or apparatus for spinning, the circuit of its new habitation, with several threads which determine the size of the oval. This first work being finished, it applies itself to form the ridge of the same membrane; which, however, it only sketches in the rough. It afterwards proceeds to the other membrane, and changes its position; because, having its spinning apparatus in the same place where it is in all other caterpillars, it cannot, consequently, spin on the membrane opposite to that on which it began, without turning itself entirely round. This it easily does when it is able, by turning its head, to seize with its teeth the membrane behind it; for it thus has a point of support by the aid of which it can turn its rings one after the other, till it has entirely changed its position. It thus performs the same operation as on the first ridge. After having three or four times changed its work from one to the other membrane, the ridges are completely finished. By their formation these membranes become more and more opaque; and the oval which is to form the contour of the pod or cone is easily distinguishable. The convexity which the two membranes assume in this place occasions a very sensible contraction in the neighbouring parts. To separate the pod from the rest of the leaf, the caterpillar begins by extending



itself along the two ridges, in such a manner that its body, to use the expression, may measure the length of the oval. It afterwards labours to make its cup, which it executes at different times; for as soon as a quarter of the pod is separated from the rest of the leaf, it immediately joins the two membranes with its silk, but without giving them their full degree of solidity, which they do not receive till the habitation is completely fixed.

As soon as the pod is separated by incision from the remainder of the leaf, it remains suspended by two threads, of which one of the ends is fastened to the leaf and the other to the edges of the pod. In this position, the caterpillar prepares to quit a place where it has no longer any thing to do; for which purpose, as it has no feet, it has recourse to a singular expedient by the aid of which it can make a progressive motion in all positions, and even over the smoothest and most polished bodies. It advances its body out of its pod, forms a kind of hillock of silk, and, by means of a thread which it attaches to it, draws its pod to the hillock. It continually repeats the same operation, and in this manner advances progressively. The traces of its progress are marked by hillocks of silk at the distance of half a line from each other. If it finds itself suspended by a thread and wishes to ascend it, it thrusts its head out of its pod, and seizes with its teeth the thread which supports it. It lengthens itself till the first three rings are discernible, and then forces the edge of the pod to



approach the place where it has fixed its teeth, by the contraction of its body. As it has no feet, its pod is absolutely necessary to enable it to ascend the thread; therefore, when it is deprived of it, and is thus suspended, it continually spins till it reaches a substance capable of supporting it. When it is taken out of its habitation, it never attempts to make a new one. It writhes about very much, but can make no progressive motion; and after having overspread the place in which it is with threads of silk, in an irregular manner, it dies at the end of twenty-four hours.

It has for its enemy a kind of small worm of a reddish colour, which is almost imperceptible to the naked eye: it is transformed into a nymph of a colour approaching to yellow, and at length changes into a handsome ichneumon, the body of which is of a very fine red, spotted with yellow.

The mining caterpillar, in its chrysalis state, is at first of an amber colour. Afterwards, six legs are distinguishable, and the cases of the wings, which do not project forward, as in other *aureliæ*. They are as long as the rest of the body, and are applied to it nearly like the wings of a bird; so that the two extremities of the body, and the cases of the wings, form, in the posterior part of the chrysalis, an angle easily perceivable. The *aureliæ* lose their amber colour, and become black and white, and at length disclose papilios of the third class of *phalænæ* and of the genus of those whose wings embrace the body in the manner of birds, but whose fringed ends



form, by rising up, the resemblance of the tail of a cock. These papilios are very handsome; the legs, head, and body, are silvery; the wings are of a beautiful black, but ornamented with four triangular silver spots, two of which are on the inner, and two on the outer; side. They are extremely lively and brisk from four o'clock in the afternoon till sun-set, and they usually live three days.



No. I.

CATALOGUE  
OF  
THE PRINCIPAL PLANTS,  
THE NATURAL GROWTH OF  
*M A L T A.*

Latin names.	Latin names.
<b>T</b> HYMUS	Asparagus
Thymus serpyllum	Fabæ
Origanum majorana	Brassica
Salvia	Brassica Botrytis cymosa
Mentha	Rumex
Valeriana	Brassica rapa
Galium	Pastinaca
Staphylea pinnata	Triticum frumentum
Cochlearia	Hordeum
Sempervivum	Avena
Acanthus	Smilax salsa parilla
Medicago sativa	Lichen Ruccella
Trifolium	Ceratonia Siliqua
Amaranthus Globosus	Xilum aut Gossipium
Geranium	Helleborus
Viola	Marrubium
Tris Silvestris	Triticum repens, gramen
Narcissus	Lepas Balanoides
Pencedanum officinale	Anchusa
Mus latifolium luteum	Saxifraga
Canna Sacchari	Ficus sativa aut communis

x 2



## No. II.

## L I S T

OF SOME OF

## THE SCARCEST AND MOST CURIOUS PLANTS

OF

*MALTA.*

Names.	Definition.	Authors who have described them.
Conyza Melitensis.	Retusis foliis surculis pullulat pluribus pedalibus rectis ramosis a duriore pilo subasperis, <i>foliis</i> pariter hirsutis, inordinate <i>caulem</i> ambientibus, oblongis, indivisis hyssopi aut oleæ foliis non dissimilibus, atque per extremum retusis. <i>Flores</i> huic radiati, in cacumine caulium auri luteo colore splendentes quibus flaccellentibus succedunt semina quæ conyzarum more in <i>pappos</i> solvuntur. Gignitur inter difficultates et autives ascensus saxorum et cautium Melitæ insulæ sub patrum Capucinatorum cœnobio.	See Boccone, page 26 and 27; and for the fig., table 13.
Jacea Melitensis capitalis conglobatis.	<i>Pedales</i> sunt alati, ramosi, geniculati; <i>folia</i> angusta, jaceæ vulgaris foliis molliora, leviter sinnata et incana; <i>flores</i> ad genicula ab imo ad summum caulium plures, sublutei e capitulis nonnihil spinosis, atque cum rotondi globuli forma simul commissis exeuntes. Inveni Melitæ in via quæ casanovum ducit. Lutetiæ etiam nascitur, sed capitulis minus compactis.	Boccone, page 65; fig. the same page.



Names.	Definition.	Authors who have described them.
Limonium.	Reticulatum supinum.	} BOCCONE; fig. page 83.
Cynomorium aut Fungus Melitensis.	Est plantæ secundariæ aut parasiticæ genus, quod aliarum stirpium radicibus A; in nascitur et aliter ut anblatum, clandestina hypopitys, orobranche, et similia, initio squamis densissimis B; tectum, postea dum incrementum acquirit, et ad magnitudinem suam pervenit, squammarum agmina inter se paulatim dilatantur C; foliolis D; infra squammarum spatium creberrime vestitum; inter quas emergunt flores monopetali, anomali, vomeris aut cunei turbinati forma ex una parte cavi, E; altera vero convexi F; stamine crassiori G; apice biventri, H; instructi, sed steriles et calyce carentes. Embryo vero ab eisdem floribus vix sejunctus I; tuba K; donatus et foliis planta tanquam calyci obvolutus, L; abitque deinde in subrotundum semen, M.	

See MICHELIO  
(PETRO ANTONIO),  
Nova Plantarum Ge-  
nera juxta Tour-  
nefortii Methodum  
disposita. Florence,  
1728, folio.  
See Pl. IX.



## No. III.

## CATALOGUE

OF

## PLANTS

WHICH, ACCORDING TO *CAVALLINI*\*, GROW IN*MALTA AND GOZA.*

Latin names.	Synonymes and references.
1 <i>ABSINTHIUM</i>	. Santonicum. Dod. Gal.
2 <i>Acuta</i>	. Spina quorundam. Spina alba vulgo Ang. <i>Oxyacantha</i> Matth. <i>Mespilus</i> sylv. Castor. <i>Sorbus aculeata</i> Cord. hist.
3 <i>Adiantum</i>	. Album Plin. Cæs. <i>Capillus Veneris</i> verus Ger.
4 <i>Ægilops</i>	. 1. Et <i>Avena fatua</i> Tab. festugago Gaz.
5 <i>Allium</i>	. Sylv. <i>tenuifolium</i> Lob. Adv. et ico. <i>Allium</i> in arvis Plinio.
6 <i>Alsine</i>	. Matth. minor Lob. Adv. et Ico. <i>Hippia minor</i> Cord. Histor.
7 <i>Alsine</i>	. Mas. Gesn. hort. <i>Hederulæ folio</i> C. B. P. <i>Elatine</i> Dod. Gal.
8 <i>Amaranthus</i>	. Sylv.
9 <i>Anagallis</i>	. Terrestris mas. Thal. phœnic. Tab. punicea Ces.
10 <i>Anagallis</i>	. Cerulea fem. Clus. hist.
11 <i>Anagallis</i>	. Sive <i>Becabungæ</i> Ger.
12 <i>Anagallis</i>	. Aquatica minor flore pallido, <i>Gersium</i> Ang. <i>Cepea</i> Tur.
13 <i>Anchusa</i>	. Puniceis floribus B. Pin. <i>Buglossa rubra</i> Lon.
14 <i>Anchusa</i>	. <i>Echii foliis et floribus</i> C. B. Pin.
15 <i>Androsaces</i>	. Matth. <i>Musei marini</i> genus Gril.
16 <i>Anemone</i>	. <i>Nemorum alba purpurea coccinea</i> Ger. <i>Ranunculus phragmites</i> Gerhort.

\* A Maltese physician, very celebrated for his knowledge in botany. His work, entitled *Pugillus Meliteus*, &c. was become extremely scarce. M. Brückman thought it so interesting a performance, that he published it at large (see *Epistola Itinerariæ Centuria Secunda*), and dedicated it to Linnæus. He does not explain the abbreviations, which frequently require it.



Latin names.	Synonymes and references.
17 Anethum .	. Sylv. grandius sativo, foliis fœniculi Cæs.
18 Antirrhinum .	. 1. Matth. Arveux majus B. Pin. Orontium Dod. Gal.
19 Antirrhinum .	. 3. Matth. arvense minus C. B. P.
20 Antirrhinum .	. Alterum Trag. Pesedec facie.
21 Anthyllis .	. Valentina Clus. hist. Chamæsyce Dalect. Lugd. Peplion sive Peplis Cord.
22 Anthriscus .	. Plin. Clus. hist. Scandix Cretica minus B. Phyt. et prodr.
23 Aparine .	. Matth. Philanthropos Plin. B. Pin. descript.
24 Aphaca .	. Matth. Orobus Sylv. seu Sylv. seu Viscia sylv. major et 2. Trag.
25 Apium .	. Palustre et Offic. B. Pin. Oleosolinum Tur.
26 Arisarum .	. Minimum supinum, folio serpentariæ flore albo lucido.
27 Aristolochia .	. Ionga. Dod.
28 Artemisia .	. Cineria, seu Eruca cinerea Dalecorum Matth. maculatum Tab.
29 Arundo .	. Matth. Ama Ger.
30 Asparagus .	. Sylv. Matth. Palatium leporis Cæs.
31 Asparagus .	. Foliis acutis C. B. Pin. Corneda Dod. Gal.
32 Asphodelus .	. Matth. Hastula Regia Trag.
33 Aster .	. Atticus Matth. Tinctorius flos. 1. Trag.
34 Aster .	. Atticus alter Matth. Lugd.
35 Atriplex .	. Sylv. 3. Matth. Lugd. Blitum IV. et Solanum IV. Trag.
36 Atriplex .	. Sylv. 3. Camer. in Matth.
37 Atriplex .	. Halimoides Lob. Icon.
38 Atriplex .	. Fœtida B. Pin. Vulvaria Cast. Garosinum Cord. hist.
39 Atriplex .	. Marina Matth.
40 Avena .	. Sterilis Adval. Bromos. sterilis Lob. Icon.
41 Auricula .	. Muris minima.
42 Bellis .	. Media Matth.
43 Bellis .	. Minor Matth. Primula veris Bruns. Cæs.
44 Borrage .	. Sylvestris floribus albis Tab.
45 Branca .	. Ursina Dod. Gal. Sphondilyum Matth.
46 Buglossum .	. Vulgare Matth. Crisium Italicum fuchs.
47 Bursa .	. Pastoris fuchs.
48 Brionia .	. Alba radice minori, frisan Cretica Ponæ Ital.
49 Brionia .	. Nigra Ger. Malacocipum Damocrali.
50 Calamentum .	. Montanum album tenuifolium odoratum.



Latin names.	Synonymes and references.
51 Calamenthum .	. Alterum tenuifolium album graviter olens. Nepeta aliquorum.
52 Calendula .	. Sylv. minor. Cæs. arvensis Tab. Ger.
53 Capparis .	. Non spinosa Bellon.
54 Carduus .	. Muricatus Clus. hist.
55 Carduus .	. Chrysanthemus Dod. Ger. Atractylis marina Lugd.
56 Carduus .	. Mariæ Trag. et multæ altæ species quarum notitia in meliori diligentia.
57 Carthamus .	. Syl. Lon. Horacantha Tab. Eyst.
58 Ceresolium .	. Matth. Gingidium fuchs.
59 Centaureum .	. Minus flore rubro Eyst.
60 Centaureum .	. Luteum alterum Lugd.
61 Chamædryas .	. Vulgaris mas. fuchs. Auricula muris 3. Cæs.
62 Chamædryas .	. Fœm. fuchs. Teucrium 3. minus Tab.
63 Chamæleon .	. Niger Cortusi Dod. Crocodilion Tab.
64 Chamæleon .	. Albus Dioxor. Guill. Spina Arabica Dod. Gall. cujus hic radix maxime venenata.
65 Chamæmelum .	. Fœtidum B. Pin. Cotula alba Dod. Chamomilla offic.
66 Chamæmelum .	. Non fœtidum Dod. Gal. an Melandrium Plin. Dod. Gal.
67 Chamæpytis .	. 3. Seu altera Matth. incana exiguo folio B. Plin.
68 Chamæpytis .	. Moschata, foliis serratis C. B. P. tua moschata. Monsp. Ad. Tab.
69 Chamæsyce .	. Matth. peplium minus repens.
70 Chelidonium .	. Majus Ger.
71 Chelidonium .	. Minus Gesn. hort. Favagello Cæs.
72 Chondrilla .	. Prior Matth.
73 Chondrilla .	. Altera Matth. purpurascens . . . Icon.
74 Chrysanthemum .	. Flore partim candido, partim luteo B. Pin.
75 Chrysanthemum .	. Majus folio profundius laciniato magno flore C. B. Pin. Creticum 1. Clus. hisp. et hyst. luteum Eyst.
76 Chrysanthemum .	. 3. Cæs. Bellis lutea foliis subrotundis C. B. Pin.
77 Cicorium .	. Pratense luteum levius B. Pin. Hedypnois Plinii Dod. Gal.
78 Cicorium .	. Sylv. fl. luteo, et aliud flore luteo cæruleo C. B. Pin. Descript.
79 Cichorium .	. Spinosum creticum Belli Ponæ, non alibi quam hic sponte nascens, tamen et in Creta visum, a Pona et Imperatore inter Creticas plantas delineatum.



Latin names.	Synonymes and references.
80 Cicuta .	. Major Camer. Cicutoria vulgaris Cluv. histor.
81 Cineraria .	. Dod. seu Jacobæa maritima Ponæ Lugd.
82 Clematis .	. Altera Matth. Pothos cæruleus Lugd.
83 Convolvulus	. Marinus noster imperato. Soldanella vel Brassica maritima major B. Plin.
84 Conyza .	. Minor et Eupatorium. Mesues Col.
85 Conyza .	. Minima, saxatilis, Camphoræ odore, a me nuspiam quam hic observata, similis Conyzæ montanæ Myconis, nisi quod hanc is hircum graviter aclere asserat, nostra vero Camphoræ acutissimum, nec ingratum odorem spiret.
86 Conyza .	. Marina Balech.
87 Corallina .	. Alba Lob. Tab. Museus marinus fruticos Cost. quia nil præstantius ad intestinorum lumbricos.
88 Coronopus	. Matth. Herba stella Dod.
89 Coronopus	. Sylvestris Cæs.
90 Cristagalli .	. Lob. Mimulus Plinii quibusdam.
91 Crithinum	. 1. Matth. Batis Gem. hort.
92 Crithinum	. Chrysanthemum Dod.
93 Cucumis .	. Agrestis Brunf. e quo hic præstantissimum claterium parant.
94 Cupressus .	. Sylv. humilis foliis et strobilis minoribus mihi nusquam visa, nec apud Author. observ.
95 Cuscula .	. Matth. tum Lino tum Squillæ adnascens.
96 Cyanus .	. Segetum C. B. P. Baptiscerula Trag.
97 Cyanus .	. Spinosus Creticus Ponæ Ital. Stæbe peregrina Clus. histor.
98 Cimbalaria	. Lugd. Linaria hederæ folio Col.
99 Cynocrambe	. Matth. Mercurialis mascula Sylv. Cord. hist.
100 Damasonium	. Sive Alysma Lugd.
101 Damasonium	. Stellatum Lugd. Plantago aquatica minor altera Lob. Icon.
102 Dentellaria	. Rubra Dalech. Lugd.
103 Dipsacus .	. Sylv. Dod. Carduus fullonius erraticus Trag.
104 Ebulus .	. Aug.
105 Echium .	. Lac. Anchusa Sylv. Tab.
106 Endiva .	. Sylv. Casal. Aphace Dalech Lugd.
107 Equisetum	. 1. Matth. Hippium majus Dod. Cauda equina officin.
108 Erica .	. Juniperifolia dense fruticans Nab. Lab.
109 Eruca .	. Sylv. Du.



Latin names.	Synonymes and references.
110 Eruca maritima .	Lugd.
111 Eryngium . .	Marinum Ad. Lob.
112 Eryngium . .	Montanum pumilum C. B. Pin.
113 Erythrodanum .	Marinum Lugd. Cancellis maritima Cæs.
114 Ferula . .	Matth. femina Plinii C. B. Pin.
115 Filix . .	Mas Dod. femina Cæs.
116 Flammula . .	Matth. Clematidis altera Turn.
117 Fœniculum .	Sylvestre B. Pin.
118 Fumaria . .	Purpurea et alba Ger. fumus terræ Thal.
119 Fungi . .	Matth. et multa alia genera esui aptissima.
120 Garderotheryium	Creticum Hon. Belli ep. b. ad Clus. Pon. Ital. Stachys Spinosa Cretica B. Pin.
121 Genista . .	Dod. Spartium Matth.
122 Genista . .	Seu Spartium aliud Hispanicum Clus. Lugd.
123 Geranium . .	Malvaceum sive Balsaminum Cam.
124 Geranium . .	Cicutæ folio acu longissima B. Prodr.
125 Geranium . .	1. Matth. Myrrhida Plinii et nostrum Ciconiæ Ad. Lob.
126 Geranium . .	Robertianum Ad. Lob. Panox herculeum Aug. et multæ aliæ speciis opportuniore commoditate exarandæ.
127 Gladiolus . .	Gesn. Xiphion Diosc.
128 Glastum . .	Sive Isatis Syles. Adv.
129 Gnaphalium .	Marinum tomentosum Lugd.
130 Gnaphalium .	Hortense roseum. Banh. Prodr.
131 Gnaphalium .	Chrysanthemum capitulo singulari.
132 Gramen . .	2. Plinii Aug. Centumgrana Cæs.
133 Gramen . .	Cruciatum Ægyptium Alpini, nostro idiomate Negera et Salib. sive stellatum Vesling. eadem enim species est licet paniculatum radiis variegatum ludat, ut modo quatuor, modo pluribus stellam repræsentat.
134 Gramen . .	Alopecuroides, et multa alia genera variæque species, quarum major pars in meo catalogo plantarum medici sapientiæ Romanæ explicato.
135 Halimus . .	Adv. Lob. Portulaca marina Dod. Icon.
136 Hedera . .	Arborea Lugd.
137 Hedisarum .	Majus Lugd.
138 Hedisarum .	Alterum Dod.
139 Hedisarum .	Minus Tab. ferrum equinum capitatum, sive conosum Col.



Latin names.	Synonymes and references.
140 Heliotropium .	Tricoccum Lugd. minus Matth.
141 Heliotropium .	Majus Matth.
142 Heliotropium .	Supinum Clus. hisp. et hist. minus 1. Tab.
143 Heliotropium .	Erectum Ger.
144 Hemionitis .	Matth. vulgaris B. Pin.
145 Hæmorrhoidalis .	Cast. Chondrilla 2. Cæs.
146 Hepatica .	Brunf. Lichen Dod.
147 Herniaria .	Col. Millegrana. Cord. hist.
148 Herba .	Turca officin.
149 Hieracium .	Majus Matth. Taraxacon majus Lon.
150 Hieracium .	Minus Aug. Succisa 3. Trag.
151 Hipposelinum .	Lac. Olusatrum Cord. in Diosc.
152 Horminum .	Sylv. Matth.
153 Horminum .	Sylv. fuchs.
154 Hyacinthus .	Boryoides cæruleus Clus. pan.
155 Hyacinthus .	Boirgoides lacteus Clus. pan.
156 Hyosciamus .	Niger Dod. Apollinariï Cord. in Diosc.
157 Hyosciamus .	Candidus Trag.
158 Hyosciamus .	Oreticus luteus minor B. Pin.
159 Hypericum .	Syriacum et Alexandr. Lob.
160 Hypericum .	Supinum tomentosum majus vel Hispanicum B. Pin.
161 Hyssopus .	Sylv. tenuifoliis.
162 Jacea .	Lutea capitulo spinoso B. Pin: major lutea Adv. Lob.
163 Jacea .	Minor.
164 Jacea .	Humilis lutea hieracii folio capitulis elegantibus.
165 Iris .	Sylv. major Matth. Gladiolus tenellus major Trag.
166 Juncus .	Acutus Aug. rotundus alter Cæs.
167 Juniperus .	Minor sterilis.
168 Kali .	Matth. geniculatum majus B. Pin.
169 Kali .	Nodosum, quod coctum in acetariis nostri comedunt et apud nos <i>Armandia</i> .
170 Kali .	Alterum, seu minus Cam. Kali album Dod.
171 Kali .	Magnum album Alpini.
172 Kali .	Fruticosum folio Kali minoris.
173 Kali .	Spinoso affinis B. Pin. Tragum Matth.
174 Lactnea .	Sylv. fuchs. Scartiola et Serciola Erk. Cord.
175 Lampsana .	Matth. rapistrum Brunf.



Latin names.	Synonymes and references.
176 Lapathum .	. Acutum Lob. Hidrolapanthum magnum Ger. Icon.
177 Lapathum .	. Rotundum Aug.
178 Lens .	. Palustris Dod. Gal. Lenticula aquatica Thal.
179 Lentiscus .	. Matth.
180 Leucoium .	. Incanum majus B. Pin. album Matth.
181 Leucoium .	. Rubr. simplici Bry. Eyst.
182 Leucoium .	. Duplis floribus Adv.
183 Leucoium .	. Sive Cheyri purpureo violaceum pleno flore sivert.
184 Leucoium .	. Purpureum variegatum flore pleno Eyst.
185 Leucoium .	. Marinum minus Clus. hisp. et list.
186 Limonium .	. Parcum Narbonense Lugd.
187 Limonium .	. Supinum reticulatum haud alibi visum (Vid. Boccone Del.)
188 Linaria .	. Dod. Osyris Matth.
189 Linum .	. Sylvestræ Matth.
190 Lolium .	. Album Ger.
191 Litopisos .	. Sive Hierazuni Candia Ponæ an Trifolium corniculatum aliorum.
192 Lotus .	. Sylvestris, forsan Sylv. Dioscoridis a Pona inter creticas plantas delineata.
193 Lunaria .	. Lutea Dalech. Lugd.
194 Lunaria .	. Minor Cast. Dur. ferrum equinum Matth.
195 Lychnis .	. Sylv. quæ Behen album vulgo C. B. Ra. Pin. Polemonium Dod.
196 Lychnis .	. Sylv. Dod.
197 Lychnis .	. Maritima minima fl. suaverubente et fol. holostr.
198 Malva .	. Agrestis minor Gesn. Hort.
199 Malva .	. Flore suaverubente Gesn.
200 Marcrubium .	. Nigrum Gesn. Hort.
201 Marcrubium .	. Matth. fem. Brunss. candidum Trag. Prassium Aug.
202 Medica .	. Cass. Icon. Trifolium cochleatum alterum Dod.
203 Medica .	. Pusilla Camer Trifolium echinatum arvense B. Pin.
204 Mentha .	. Rubra Brunss. Sisymbrium Sylv. Matth. Lugd.
205 Menthastrum .	. Lac. Mentha equina Brunss.
206 Mercurialis .	. Mascula Tur.
207 Mercurialis .	. Florens Cæs.
208 Moly .	. Dioscoridis pettatum Adv.
209 Muscus .	. Arboreus Matth. Quercus Lob.



Latin names.	Synonymes and references.
210 Muscus .	. Repens infectorius e rupibus Saxisque crustarum instar enascens colciis varii modo lutei modo crocei purpurei, viridis, nigricans, quo e rupibus abrasso, atque in urina macerato ac cocto pannis ac tapetibus xerampelino colore tingendis utuntur.
211 Muscus .	. Terrestris vulgaris Dod.
212 Narcissus .	. XIII. medio luteus poëticus Tab.
213 Nasturtium	. Sylv. Thal. Thlaspi minus Germ. Tab.
214 Nasturtium	. Aquaticum supinum B. Pin. Sisymbrium aquat. Matth.
215 Nasturtium	. Aquaticum erectum folio longiore P. Pin. Sium. vulgare Matth.
216 Nigella .	. Sylv. et 2. Trag.
217 Oleaster .	. Cæs. Olea Sylv. Matth.
218 Orchis .	. Mas angustifolia fuchs.
219 Orchis .	. Angustifolia fem. altera fuchs. Icon.
220 Origanum .	. Vulgare Lugd. flore rubente.
221 Ornithogalum	. Majus Dod. Arabicum Clus. pan. et hist.
222 Ornithogalum	. Neapolitanum Clus. flore interius candido et exterius cineraceo sivet.
223 Orobanche	. Vera Gesn. Hort. Ama Aug.
224 Orobus .	. Sylv. angustifolius Asphodeli radice B. Pin.
225 Oxalis .	. Sylv. minor sive acetosella qualem Alpinus in Zacyntho insula se observ. memorat.
226 Panax .	. Siculum folio Pastinacæ sativæ Boccon.
227 Papaver .	. Corniculatum luteum fuchs.
228 Papaver .	. Erraticum minus Tab. Argemone Lac.
229 Papaver .	. Erraticum Lac. Papaver rhæas Lob.
230 Parietaria .	. Vulgaris et major Trag. Helxine Matth.
231 Parietaria .	. Minor ocynis folio B. Pin.
232 Paronychia	. Altera Matth.
233 Pastinaca .	. Sylv. latifolia B. Pin.
234 Pesteri .	. Veneris Matth. Scandix Dod.
235 Peplis .	. Matth. maritima Thal. obtus. B. Pin.
236 Peplis .	. Matth. sive Esula rotunda B. Pin.
237 Perfoliata .	. Matth. Sæseli Æthiopicum Dioscoridis Cæs.
238 Persicaria .	. Altera Matth. maculis nigris Gesn. Hort.
239 Pimpinella	. Sanguisorba major B. Pin. Sideritis 2 Diosc.



Latin names.	Synonymes and references.
240 Pimpinella	. Sanguisorba minor Matth.
241 Pimpinella	. Agrimonoides odorata Boccon.
242 Pimpinella	. Minor odorata.
243 Phyllitis .	. Matth. Lingua cervina officin. B. Pin.
244 Plantago .	. Et Centinervia Cæsal.
245 Plantago .	. Minor fuchs.
246 Plantago .	. Trinervia fol. angustissimo B. Prodr.
247 Plantago .	. Aquatica minor. Cæs.
248 Plantago .	. Marina Dod. Gal. Bibinella Cæs.
249 Polemonii .	. Altera species Dod. Gal. Valeriano rubra B. Pin.
250 Poligonum	. Mar. Matth. Centinodia Brunf.
251 Poligonum	. Marinum prius Dalach. Lugd.
252 Polipodium	. Quercinum Ger.
253 Psyllium .	. Matth. Cynops. Theophr. Gesn. Hort.
254 Pulegium .	. Matth. sem. fuch. Icon.
255 Pulegium .	. Cast. mas Plinii Col.
256 Quinquefolium	. Majus repens B. Pin. Pentaphyllum majus Thal. luteum majus Dod. Gal.
257 Quinquefolium	. Album minus Banh. Prodr.
258 Ranunculus	. Thalyctri folio Clus. Pan.
259 Ranunculus	. Arvensis echinatus B. Pin.
260 Ranunculus	. Balrachioides Ge.
261 Ranunculus	. Palustris apii folio levis B. Pin.
262 Ranunculus	. Sardonicus Aug.
263 Raphanus .	. Rusticanus B. Pin.
264 Rapistrum	. Flores albo Erucae folio Lob. Icon. Lampiana Cæs.
265 Rapunculus	. Matth. Rapum Sylv. Gesn. Hort.
266 Reseda .	. Lutea major aborescens.
267 Reseda .	. Candida major.
268 Rhamnus .	. Matth. spinis oblongis flores candicante B. Pin.
269 Rubia .	. Major Lob. Adv. Thapsia Asclepiada Aug.
270 Rubia .	. Sylv. minor Adv. Lob. Lappago Plinii Cæs.
271 Rubesta .	. Arvensis repens caerulea B. Prodr.
272 Rubus .	. Matth. Morus sive Rubus aug.
273 Ruscus .	. Ger. sive Bruscus.
274 Ruta .	. Montana Tab. Sylv. Matth.
275 Saturveia .	. Lac. Hyssopus agrestis Bruns.



Latin names.	Synonymes and references.
276 Scabiosa . .	Fuchs. altera campestris.
277 Sogetum . .	Lob. Icon.
278 Scariola . .	Arabum interpretibus.
279 Scilla . .	Major Cast. Squilla Matth. nihilo hispanica præstandior qua vix alia hic planta copiosius crescit.
280 Scolymus . .	Sylv. Adv. Lob.
281 Scordium . .	Alterum sive Salvia Sylv. B. Pin.
282 Scopicis . .	Matth.
283 Scopicis . .	Altera Dod.
284 Scornozera . .	Sylv. tenuifolia.
285 Sedum . .	Majus verum Gesn. hort. Sempervivum arborescens Matth.
286 Sedum . .	Minimum repens vermicularis, an insipida Eyst.
287 Senecio . .	Minus Matth. Erigeron Diosc.
288 Serpillum . .	Foliis cisti odore B. Pin.
289 Sideritis . .	Heraclea Dioscoridis Col.
290 Sinapi . .	Album Lugd. Brassica Sylv. foliis circa radicem Cicho- raccis B. Pin.
291 Sisyrinchium . .	Minus Clus. Hisp.
292 Smilax . .	Aspera Matth.
293 Solanum . .	Officinarum B. Pin. Hort. Matth.
294 Soldanella . .	Gesn. Hort. Brassica marina Matth.
295 Sonchus . .	Spinous Aug. Andriolia major Lugd.
296 Sonchus . .	Levis Matth.
297 Staphisagria . .	Dod.
298 Stæchas . .	Citrina Matth. Ageratum Amelia Dod. Gal.
299 Tamariscus . .	Lon. Myrica Gesn. Hort.
300 Teucrium . .	Boëticum Clus. Hisp.
301 Thlaspi . .	Latifolium fuchs.
302 Thlaspi . .	Candiæ Dod.
303 Thlaspi . .	Bisculatum Erysimi folio.
304 Thlaspi . .	Arinum Dalech.
305 Thymum . .	Creticum legitimum Clus. hisp. et hist. quo nil hic fre- quentius inde apes præstantissimum mel colligunt.
306 Tithymalorum . .	Varia genera, quorum seriem ponere est multum in lon- gum nos traheret, cum in catalogo nostro omnia legi possunt.



Latin names.	Synonymes and references.
307 Trifolia . .	Pratensia varia quorum flores ludunt sæpe sæpius in coloribus.
308 Trifolium . .	Acetosum Matth. Oxys. Tur.
309 Trifolium . .	Bituminosum angustifolium. Idem rotundifolium.
310 Triticum . .	Vaccinum Lugd. parietaria Sylv. 3. Clus. Pan.
311 Typha . .	Palustris Cæs. Ulva Aug.
312 Typha . .	Cerealis. Dod. Gal. Frumentum Romanum Trag. Lugd. Triticum Matth.
313 Verbascum . .	S. Matth. nigrum foliis Papaveris corniculati B. Pin.
314 Verbascum . .	Salvifolium fruticosum luteo flore Lob.
315 Verbenaca . .	Matth. Herba sacra Aug.
316 Verbena . .	Supina Clus. hist. Teucrii folia B. Pin.
317 Viola . .	Marina repens Eyst. Icon.
318 Vitex . .	Lac. Agnuscastus Gesn. Hort.
319 Umbilicus . .	Veneris Matth. Cotyledon major B. Pin.
320 Umbilicus . .	Veneris alter Matth.
321 Umbilicus . .	Veneris Lob. Icon. Cotyledon minus Sedi folio. Adv. Lob.
322 Volubilis m. .	Minor Thal Helxine cissanpelos Matth.
323 Volubilis . .	Terrestris Dalech. Lugd. Convolvulus minimus spicæ foliis Ger.
324 Volubilis . .	Seu convolvulus folio Althææ Clus. hisp. et hist.
325 Urticarum . .	Variæ species quarum series in longum protracta in catalogo meo.
326 Uva . .	Marina Dod. Polygonum marinum sive cocciferum Tab.

Demum in domesticis Viridariis præter rosarum omne genus gestarum nihilo suaviorum gariophyllos variosque balbaceos flores undique exquisitos frequenter sunt Myrtus, Jasminum album, Rosmarinus, Lævendula, Mentha, Saracenica, Ocymi variæ species aliæque plantæ odoratæ in Italiâ familiares.

Ad ornatum autem visumque grato virore recreandum seri frequenter solent Balsamina mas, sive Momordica, Colochyntis Liuaria, Scoparia Italis Belvedere Lithospermum arundinaceum, vulgo Lacryma Jobi, Nerium sive Oleander, Phyllirea, Campanula cærulea, Amaranthus purpureus, Vesicaria repens. Flos Africanus seu Caryophyllus Indicus, Solanum æthale seu somniferum Fuchs, vulgo Belladonna, aliudque Solanum exoticum, quod pomum amoris dicunt.

Sed et aliæ haud paucae Egyptiæ atque Americanæ plantæ hic pridem translatae pæne indignisunt nobis effectum hujusmodi sunt Jasminum Arabicum seu Ægyptium Alpini, nostratibus Hispanicum dictum: Alcaæ Ægyptia, semine mos-



chum olente, aliis Bamia moschata, Hedera quinque folia Canadensis, Cyanus Turcicus odoratus, vulgo *Ambrete*, cum albo tam purpureo, Leucoium melancholicum Hesperidum, aliis Jasminum rubrum, Amaranthus ruber cristallis, seu Blitum majus Peruanum Clus. Hist. Amaranthus bacciferus Americanus. Mirabilis Peruana. Acacia vera Ægyptia Alpini et Veslingii. Triticum Indicum. Colocasia quam ut et Alven haud semel florentem vidimus. Canna Indica. Opuntia seu ficus Indica, Pier Indicum multiforme, Nasturtium Peruanum Monardi; hic male flos Granadillæ Passionalis reputatum: Sol Indicus seu herba maxima. Rosa Sinensis ac Malva Japonica, sebesten a translate nuper etiam musam optime jam propagari cernebatur. Viguit quoque haud ita pridem Datura Egyptia seu Nux vomica vera Arabum. Planta vero sensitiva longe melius adolevit, quam in aliis Europæ locis. Superest quoque adhuc et Ricinus Americanus, cujus nuclei sursum deorsumque vehementer expurgant. Atque hæc de plantis quæ in Melita, ejusque districtis observantur, sat dicta sumto.



## No IV.

EXPLICATIO  
NOMINUM AUTHORUM,

QUI IN PRÆSENTI

## CATALOGO

SUNT CITATI.

ACTUAR.	.	.	Actuarius.
Ad.	.	.	Adversaria Pena.
Ægin.	.	.	Ægineta.
Æt.	.	.	Ætius.
Ama.	.	.	Amatus.
Ambrosin.	.	.	Ambrosini.
Ang.	.	.	Anquillara.
Apul.	.	.	Apulejus.
Avic. Avicen.	.	.	Avicenna.
Bellon.	.	.	Bellonius.
Bell. obs.	.	.	Belloni observatione.
Bras. Brassav.	.	.	Brassavolus.
Brij du Brij.	.	.	Florilegium de Brij.
Bocc. Boccon.	.	.	Paulus Bocconius.
Brunf.	.	.	Brunfelsius.
Brunf. Ico.	.	.	Quoad Iconem.
Cæs.	.	.	Cæsalpinus.
Cam. Camer.	.	.	Camerarius in horto.
Cam. ep. & hor.	.	.	Camerarius in epitome Mathioli & suo horto.
Car.	.	.	Carolus Stephanus.
Cast.	.	.	Castor Durantes.
Cast. ap.	.	.	Id. in appendice.
Cast. Ico.	.	.	Id. secundum Iconem.
Cels.	.	.	Cornelius Celsus.
Cl. hist.	.	.	Clusius historia rariorum.



Clus. hist. des. Ico.	. Historia rarior. descriptione vel Icone.
Clus. pan.	. Id. Historia Pannonica.
Clus. hisp.	. Id. Historia Hispanica.
Clus. ex. exot.	. Id. Historia Exoticarum.
Clus. ap.	. Id. in appendice.
Clus. cur. post.	. Id. in curis posterioribus.
Clus. in Carol.	. Id. in Corrollario.
Clus. in Jarz.	. Id. in Jarziam.
Cod. Cæs.	. Codex Cæsarius à Dod.
Col. & Colum.	. Fabius Columna.
Cord. in Diosc.	. Cord. in Dioscoridem.
Cord. hist.	. Id. in sua historia plantarum.
Cord. obs.	. Id. in Silva observationum.
Cord. Schol.	. Cordi Scholiastes.
Cord. in disp.	. Id. in dispensario.
Corn.	. Janus Cornarus.
Cornut.	. Cornutus.
Cost. in Mes.	. Costeus in Mesuem.
Costin.	. Nicolaus Costinus.
Dal. Dalech.	. Dalechampius.
Dalech. Lugd.	. Id. in historia universali Lugduni.
Dod.	. Dodonæus.
Dod. Gal.	. Dodonæus in editione Gallica.
Eyst. Eystet.	. Hortus Eystensis.
Eric & Val. Cord.	. Ericius & Valerius Cordus.
Fallop.	. Gabriel Fallopius.
Frascast.	. Frascastorius.
Fuch.	. Fuchsius.
Fuch. Ico.	. Id. in Iconibus.
Gal.	. Galenus.
Ger.	. Joannes Gerardus Anglus.
Ges. lib. hort.	. Gesnerus in libro de hortis Germaniæ. hor. ap. in appendice.
Guil.	. Guilandinus.
Hipp.	. Hippocrates.
Hon.	. Belli Honorius.
Imper.	. Ferrantes Imperatus.
Jo. Bapt. Triumph.	. Joannes Baptista Triumphetti.
Jo. Bapt. Ferrar.	. Joannes Baptista Ferrarius.



Jo. Bauh.	.	.	Joannes Bauhinus.
Lac. Lacun.	.	.	Andreas Lacuna.
Leon.	.	.	Nicolaus Leoniceus.
Lel. Triumph. in	}	.	Lellius Triumphettus in observationibus fratris.
obs. fratr.		.	
Lob.	.	.	Lobelius in observationibus.
Lob. ad part. alt.	.	.	Id. in Adversariorum parte altera.
Lob. Ico.	.	.	Id. in Iconibus.
Lugd.	.	.	Historia generalis Lugduni cusa.
Matth. Matth.	.	.	Matthiolus.
Mycon.	.	.	Myconus.
Pena.	.	.	Petrus Pena.
Phytopin.	.	.	Phytopinax. C. Bauhini.
Plin. Pl.	.	.	Plinius.
Pon.	.	.	Joannes Pona.
Prod.	.	.	Prodromus. C. Bauhini.
B. Pin.	.	.	Bauhini pinax.
Rawolf.	.	.	Leonardus Rawolfius.
Ros.	.	.	Eucharis Roslin.
Rob.	.	.	Joan Robinus.
Rondel.	.	.	Rondeletius.
Ruel.	.	.	Joan Ruellius.
Scalig.	.	.	Scaligerius.
Serap.	.	.	Serapio.
Suv. Suve.	.	.	Suvert Suvertius.
Tab. Taber.	.	.	Taberna montanus.
Tab. Ico.	.	.	Id. in Iconibus.
Th. Thal.	.	.	Joannes Thalius.
Trag.	.	.	Hieronymus Tragius.
Tur.	.	.	Guilielmus Turnerus.
Vall.	.	.	Vallot.
Zanon.	.	.	Zanonus.



No. V.

CATALOGUE

*Of several PLANTS which, according to FORSKÄL, grow in MALTA,  
particularly near the SALTWORKS, together with the  
distinguishing Characteristics of the said Plants ;  
published by him under the Title of*

FLORULA MELITENSIS\*.

Latin names.	Characteristics.
1 SALICORNIA . . .	Europæa. ad Salinas.
2 Salvia . . .	Verbenac.
3 Rosmarinus . . .	Officinalis.
4 Phalaris . . .	Canariens. ad Sal.
5 Poa . . .	Filicina.
6 Panycum . . .	Dactylon.
7 Panycum . . .	Glaucum.
8 Polycarpon . . .	Tetraph. in cultis.
9 Lagurus . . .	Ovatus. ad Sal.
10 Avena . . .	Fatua.
11 Hordeum . . .	Murinum.
12 Agrostis . . .	In horto.

\* This small work makes a part of a more considerable one, published by this learned Dane, entitled *Flora Ægyptiaco-Arabica, sive descriptiones plantarum quas per Ægyptum inferiorem et Arabiam felicem detexit, illustravit, &c.* printed at Copenhagen, in quarto, 1775, after the author's death, by Carsten Niebuhr. Some of the plants mentioned in this work have been already described by Cavallini, but in so different a manner, as sufficiently justifies their being repeated in this account.



Latin names.		Characteristics.
13	Cynosurus . .	Paniceus.
14	Scabiosa . .	Atropurp. hort.
15	Crucianella . .	Marit.
16	Plantago . .	Serraria, foliis lanceolato dentatis. ad Sal.
17	Plantago . .	Coronopus.
18	Galium . .	Aparinc. An Valantia ? fructu tuberculato. ad Sal.
19	Sherardia ? . .	In cultis*.
20	Samolus . .	Valerandi. ad Sal. et in ruderatis.
21	Convolvulus . .	Arvens.
22	Eryngium . .	Albo villosum.
23	Chenopodium . .	Fruticos, facie Sals. vormic. ad Sal.
24	Chrithmum . .	Marit. ad Sal.
25	Solanum . .	Lycopers. in hortis cult.
26	Hyosciamus . .	Aureus. ad vias.
27	Cressa . .	Cretica.
28	Daucus . .	Carota.
29	Hedera . .	Helix.
30	Beta . .	Vulg. capsula multi ansata.
31	Frankenia . .	Pulverul. in ruderat.
32	Allium . .	Ad margines agrorum.
33	Arenaria . .	Peplodes.
34	Oxalis . .	Cornic. in cultis.
35	Reseda . .	Alba ; tetragyna. in ruder.
36	Reseda . .	Undata ; Calycis dente supremo non minore. Spontanea in horto D. Locano.
37	Punica . .	Granat. hortens.
38	Mesembr. . .	Nodifl. ad Sal.
39	Chelidonium . .	Glaucum.
40	Capsaris . .	Spinosa.
41	Papaver . .	Hybr. in arvis.
42	Papaver . .	Capsulis globosis, hispidis.

\* Sicum specimen intuens, video Sherardiam hanc a caractere generico discrepantem ; genus tamen determinare jam nequeo. Caulis dichotomus pilosus. Folia ad dichotomias bina, opposita tridentata. Flores subsessiles, solitarii in dichotom. Calyx quinquefidus, ciliatus, magnus, persistens. Corolla tubulosa, elata, basi angusto filiformis.



Latin names.	Characteristics.
43 Delphinium .	Elatum.
44 Thymus .	Serpyllum.
45 Thymus .	Zygis.
46 Mentha .	Arvens.
47 Mentha .	Exigua. ad Sal.
48 Mentha .	Puleg. culta; incolis vocata. Poleg.
49 Satureia .	Hortens. incolis. Sariette.
50 Antirrhinum .	Majus.
51 Antirrhinum .	Orontium; floribus ecalcaratis, foliis oppositis.
52 Lepidium .	Sativ. in hortis.
53 Alyssum .	Alyssoid. staminib. non dentatis, ad vias.
54 Malva .	Sylvestr.
55 Alcea .	Rosea; hortens.
56 Trifolium .	Stellatum.
57 Hedisarum .	Onobr.
58 Tragopogon .	Picroid. foliis lanceolato hastatis, dentatis.
59 Scorzonera .	Picroid.
60 Soncus .	Olerac. ad Sal.
61 Hyoseris .	Cretica.
62 Hypochæris .	Urens; ad vias.
63 Cichorium .	Spinos. ad Sal. Usus ad purganda et læviganda navigia et scaphas.
64 Carduus .	Lancelat. ad Sal.
65 Carduus .	Syriacus; foliis sessilibus amplex.
66 Carduus .	Cyanoides; an Cynara? Incolis artichots sauvages, capitulo grandi cæruleo; cæterum similis Cnico dentato.
67 Senecio .	Vulg. ad vias.
68 Senecio .	Jacobæa ad Sal.
69 Senecio .	Incan. ad muros et in rupibus.
70 Chrysanthemum .	Segetum; ubique frequens.
71 Achyllea .	Odorata. ad Sal.
72 Buphtalmum .	Spinos.
73 Buphtalmum .	Melitense.
74 Centaurea .	Galact.
75 Centaurea .	Calcitr.
76 Centaurea .	Melitense.



Latin names.		Characteristics.
77	Centaurea .	. Solstit. ad vias.
78	Centaurea .	. Moschata. culta. fasciculatim (bouguettes) venditur.
79	Pieris .	. Echioides. ad Sal.
80	Othonna .	. Cineraria.
81	Arum .	. Colocasia.
82	Urtica .	. Pilulifera.
83	Zannichellia	. Flor. umbellatis. ad Sal.
84	Ceratonia .	. Siliqua.
85	Valantia .	. Fructu globoso lacunoso.
86	Adiantum .	. Capill. ven. frequens ad aquæduct.
87	Obscura .	. Articulata, aquisetiformis, foliis fasciculato verticillatis. Sicca fragilissima, intense viridis. ad Salinas in fonte aquædulcis.



No. VI.  
CATALOGUE  
OF THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF  
FISH  
ON THE COAST OF  
MALTA,

ACCORDING TO A LEARNED PHYSICIAN OF THAT ISLAND \*.

Generical names.	Species.	Maltese names.
DELPHINUS .	Orca . Delphis	I Delfin.
Raja .	Altavela . Torpedo Pastinaca Aquila : Batis . Musmarinus (piscis novus)	Il Hamiema. Il Hamiema. Il Raja.
Squalus .	Pristis . Catulus . Spinax . Zygana . Squatina Lamia . Centrina	Il Sia. Il Rusetta. Il Chelp. il Bahar. est Arab. Kelh el bahr, Il Martel. Il Gabdol.
Acipenser .	Sturio Huso	
Petromyzon .	Lampetra Mustela .	Il Mustilla.
Lophius .	Piscatorius	

\* See *Descriptiones Animalium, &c. quæ in Itinere Orientali observavit Petrus Forskål*,  
page xviii. et xix.; one volume in quarto, printed at Copenhagen, with plates, 1775.



Generical names.	Species.	Maltese names.
Qstracion .	Gibbosus	
	Lagocephalus	
	Hystrix . . .	Il Rizza.
	Capite testudineo	
	Mola . . .	Il Kamar.
Gasterosteus .	Aculeatus	
	Pungitius	
	Spinachia . . .	L'Ispnotta.
Balistes . . .	Scolopax	
Chatodon . . .	Paru	
	Vetula . . .	Il Hogiusa.
Zeus . . .	Aper	
	Gallus . . .	I Serduk.
	Faber . . .	L'Aurata.
Cottus . . .	Scorpius . . .	I Scorfua.
	Dracunculus	
Trigia . . .	Milvus . . .	Il Taira.
	Lucerna . . .	I Tigiega.
	Gurnardus	
	Lyra . . .	Il Triglia.
	Cuculus	
Mullus . . .	Surmuletus	
Scorpæna . . .	. . . . .	I Ceppulazza.
	Scorpius . . .	Il Mazzun.
Trachinus . . .	Draco . . .	Il Majuro ta rocca.
Perca . . .	Lucioperca	
	Asper	
	Cernua . . .	I Cerna.
	Labrax	
Sciaena . . .	Umbra	
	Umbrina	
Sparus . . .	Auratus . . .	L'Aurada.
	Cantharus	
	Crythinus . . .	Il Pagella.
	Pagrus . . .	Il Pagru.
	Dentex . . .	I Dentici.
	Boops	



Generical names.	Species.	Maltese names.
	Mænas . . .	Il Minnula.
	Smaris	
	Sparus . . .	I Spargu.
	Melanurus	
	Salpa . . .	I Scilpa.
Labrus . . .	Turdus, vulg.	
	Turdus virid. mi-	
	nor	
	Pavo	
	Scarus cretic.	
	Julis . . .	Il Harusa; Arab. Arusa.
	Sachettus	
	Scarius varius . .	Il Bricchese.
Mugil . . .	Cephalus . . .	Il Caplar.
Scomber . . .	Thynnus . . .	Itton.
	Scombrus	
	Trachurus . .	Savrella.
	Amia	
	Glaucus	
Xiphias . . .	Gladius . . .	Il Pesci spat.
Gobius . . .	Niger	
	Paganellus	
	Aphya	
	Jozo	
Blennius . . .	Alauda	
	Galerita	
	Gunellus	
	Galea	
	Mustela	
	Pentadactylus	
Ophidion . . .	Gryllus	
Muræna . . .	Anguilla . . .	Il Sallura.
	Myrus	
	Serpens marinus	Il Serpt al bahar.
	Conger . . .	L'Imselfa.
	Serpens maculatus	Il Murina.
Gadus . . .	Asellus varius . .	L'Asnelli.



Generical names.	Species.	Maltese names.
	Æglefinus	
	Barbatus	
	Merluccius	
	Asellus virescens	
	Asellus mollis	Il Munckaro.
Anarhichas	Lupus marinus	
Ammodytes	Tobianus	
Coryphæna	Hippurus	I Lampuca.
	Novacula	Il Janfru.
	Pompilus	I Stellara.
Pleuronectes	Limanda	
	Hippoglossus	
	Linguatula	Il Linguada.
	Rhombus	
	Psetta	
Echeneis	Remora	
Esox	Lucius	I Trigle.
	Bellone	
	Acus	
Osmerus	Eperlanus	
	Saurus	
Clupea	Alosa	
	Encrasicolus	Il Sardella.



## BOOK II.

## ON THE CONSTITUTION AND FINANCES OF THE ORDER OF MALTA.

## CHAPTER I.

*Constitution of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, from its original Foundation to the present Times. Changes it has undergone. The Legislative and Executive Power, in whom vested. The Authority of the Grand-Master, how far limited. Extent of the said Authority over the Knights. To what Degree the Order was dependent on the Pope and other Christian Powers. Independence the principal Basis of its Government. Its Right of Sovereignty acknowledged, and its Rank assigned in the different Courts in Europe. Places in the Gift of the Grand-Master.*

IN order to give a just and complete idea of the government of Malta, it will be necessary to go back to its original institution, and to describe the different changes it has successively undergone.

The knights of Malta were at first merely hospitallers of St. John, and as such were not subject to any particular rules; but being become members of a religious order, they followed those of the Augustins. Having once employed the force of



arms under Raimond Dupuis, they became a military order ; and having conquered Rhodes, and Malta with its dependencies being ceded to them, they acquired the right of sovereignty.

The order preserved something of all these different characters, which renders its form of government very complicated, and difficult to understand. But though it must necessarily appear incoherent at first sight, it will soon be perceived, that it formed altogether one of the most perfect administrations that can possibly be imagined.

This order may with propriety be considered as being, at the same time, *hospitaller, religious, military, republican, aristocratical*, and *monarchical* \*.

*Hospitaller*, from having hospitals constantly open for the reception of the sick of all countries and religions, whom the knights attended in person.

*Religious*, because the members took the three vows of chastity, obedience, and poverty ; which last consisted in possessing no property independent of the order at large, and on that account the pope was their superior.

*Military*, two classes being constantly armed, and always at war with the infidels : these were properly disciplined for a war of that nature, and never ceased protecting the Christian flag of every nation from corsairs and all barbarian vessels.

\* Since the definitive treaty, it may also be said that the government is become in some degree democratical ; and that from the introduction of a language which does not require any proofs of nobility.



*Republican*, the three classes of the order always naming their chief from among themselves, out of the first class, and concurring with him both in making and executing the laws.

*Aristocratical*, since none but the knights and the grand-master had any share in the legislative and executive power.

*Monarchical*, from having a superior who could not be dispossessed of his dignity, and who was invested with the right of sovereignty over the subjects of the order, together with those of Malta and its dependencies.

Gerard, who is regarded as the original founder of the order, formed an association of a few charitable persons at Jerusalem, for the purpose of relieving the sick, and they took up their abode in a house distinguished by the name of the hospital of St. John; where they received the infirm, and wretched, and afforded them every possible assistance. Having resolved to dedicate themselves entirely to this charitable employment, Gerard and his companions were desirous of taking the regular habit, and accordingly the pope invested them with that of St. Augustin. They took the three vows of chastity, obedience, and poverty, before the patriarch of Jerusalem, under whose immediate authority they remained for some time.

The pope, however, soon freed them from all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and left them entirely to their own. From the first moment of their institution, they bore the name of the hospitaller brothers of St. John the Baptist of Jerusalem.



About the same time an association of women was likewise formed at Jerusalem by Alix, a Roman lady. This was on the same plan with that of Gerard, except that none but female patients were received into the house. These ladies, being animated by the same spirit of charity as the hospitaller brothers of St. John, desired to be associated with them, and their request was granted. They were afterwards obliged to prove their nobility, in the same manner as the knights, and they acknowledged the grand-master as their superior. Since that time they have been dispersed throughout the greatest part of Christendom, where they still subsist with much distinction\*.

Raimond Dupuis (Pl. XII.), who succeeded Gerard, was not satisfied with merely receiving the poor and sick into the hospital of St. John; he was also desirous of affording them future protection, and escorting those who, having recovered their health in the infirmary, wished to return into their own country. The journey from Jerusalem to the first port where it was possible to embark for Europe was extremely dangerous; it being necessary to pass through a country entirely inhabited by infidels, who, whenever they found themselves the strongest, fell with unrelenting fury on the Christians. The hospitallers therefore solicited leave to become a military order, without, however, relinquishing either their first offices,

\* See Appendix, No. IX. names of the commanderies of the hospitaller sisters of the order of St. John of Jerusalem.



PLXII.



*Raymond du Puis.  
from an Original Painting.*

Published by J. G. Smith, London, May 1828.







or their original title. Their petition being granted, the patriarch of Jerusalem armed them himself; and they took an oath before him to defend the holy sepulchre to the last drop of their blood, and to combat the infidels wherever they should meet them. This solemn ceremony over, they offered their services to the king of Jerusalem, and afterwards became, together with the knights Templars, the principal support of that sovereign. They possessed several places in the Holy Land, independent of the throne of Jerusalem, and always regarded themselves as auxiliaries, but not as subjects, of the kings of that country.

The hospitaller and military functions being thus united, it was necessary to form a new administration; in consequence of which, Raimond Dupuis collected all the regulations originally made by Gerard, and then assembled the most respectable personages of the hospital of St. John, who were entitled the *Master's Assistants*, and formed them into an assembly, to which he gave the name of chapter or council; and it was in this meeting that the first rules and statutes were instituted, but which at that time, as at present, could not be obligatory without the sanction of his holiness the pope.

The great number of crusaders who entered the order, and the considerable donations bestowed on it from all parts, caused a change both in the form of government and the administration of property. The knights of different nations agreed to divide themselves into *languages*. The French hav-



ing founded the order, and being much the most numerous, formed the first three, viz. those of Provence, Auvergne, and France. The four others were the languages of Italy, Arragon, England, and Germany. In process of time, the language of Castile was added to the seven original ones, and to that of England was substituted the Anglo-Bavarian. The property of the order being situated in different countries, it was necessary to fix upon some method for having it properly managed, and paid in with punctuality. It was therefore divided into priories, bailliwicks, and commanderies. A receiver's office was appointed in every priory, into which were paid the revenues of the different livings in the said priory. There were likewise offices of the same nature in several towns, which from their convenient situation had an easy communication with Jerusalem, Rhodes, and Malta. The offices in the priories sent their *receipts* to these towns, and the persons appointed to manage the business were termed *receivers*. When the order became possessed of sovereign power, and had subjects to govern, it was necessary to create those posts which are the constant appanage of supreme authority. The legislative and executive powers, which form the basis of all governments, were distributed with equal prudence and wisdom. The knights gave up none of their privileges to the person they chose for their superior, except those which were indispensably necessary to enable him to govern them with effect, and were particularly tenacious of all those which might sub-



ject them to the exercise of undue authority. The legislative power was exclusively vested in the general chapter, which alone had the right of making new laws or statutes and levying taxes. To signify the sovereignty of this chapter, the standard of the order was brought into the assembly, where it remained during the whole time it was sitting, after which it was carried back to the palace of the grand-master. That prince had the exclusive right of demanding the convocation, but the pope had the power to refuse his request, and either to annul or sanction the acts of the assembly.

The executive power was almost entirely in the hands of the complete or ordinary council, which, in the absence of the general chapter, was appointed to maintain the statutes, laws, and traditions. In both these assemblies, the grand-master had only the priority, and two votes; but in case of an equality, his vote gave the majority. He had, however, the sole right of convoking the meeting, and of proposing the subjects to be taken into consideration.

Independent of these councils, there were the secret and criminal ones, in which either the grand-master or his lieutenant constantly presided, but in which they had likewise only two votes, and the right of choosing the subject of their deliberations. There was also another council, called the venerable chamber of the common treasure, of which the grand commander was president in right of his office.

The order on becoming a sovereignty, invested the superior



with the power of representing it. But it was generally twenty-four hours after the election of the grand-master, before the complete council committed into his hands the sovereignty of the islands of Malta and Goza with all their dependencies; and the exercise of the legislative and executive power was subject even then (as will be presently seen) to some restrictions.

For example, the order had an exclusive right to manage every thing relative to the office of health\*, and the mint.—The Maltese civil code was carried before the council, as was the nomination of judges who composed the tribunals, and no considerable armament of the inhabitants could possibly take place without being communicated to that assembly.

The members of this military order, which was composed of the first nobility in christendom, were at all times particularly jealous of their independence, which they constantly preserved; indeed, the grand-master was never esteemed more than the first amongst his equals—*primus inter pares*. What caused them to annex a still greater value to this independence was the impossibility that the superior should exercise any authority over them himself, or allow others to do so, beyond the limits prescribed by the statutes. The grand-master could never detain a knight in custody more than twenty-four hours without bringing him to trial; and though the oath of obe-

\* The grand-master was not allowed to take off more than twenty-four hours from the quarantine.



dience appears so absolute and obligatory, it was subject to some modifications, and every knight who was of opinion that the orders he received were contrary to the statutes or even to the usual customs, had a right to refuse obeying them, to appeal to the tribunal called *egard*, and to persist in his disobedience till sentence should be pronounced.

The grand-masters frequently felt their power very unequal either to curb the impetuosity of such numbers of young warriors, or to obtain from the council what they thought necessary for the good of the public: in both these cases the two parties had recourse to the pope, as the first superior of the order, who took this opportunity to encrease his authority, which upon many occasions was extremely difficult to shake off.

In the interval between the general chapters, which, however, were frequently held in the beginning of the sovereignty, the grand-masters being unable to grant favours asked them by crowned heads, or to decide in affairs which demanded immediate attention, applied to the popes to grant them briefs, which might in some measure supply the place of the decision of the chapter; and this, some time afterwards, induced the popes to believe they had a right to grant them of their own accord, by which means they disposed of the richest commanderies of the order, either to their relations, or to some other of their dependents. The knights also had frequent recourse to his holiness when they wished to oppose the pretensions of the grand-master, and they even sometimes



appealed to Rome from the sentences pronounced by the councils.

As the bishops of Malta continually endeavoured to establish ecclesiastical authority, in opposition to the legal one of the knights, the order was induced to solicit the pope to send a minister from the court of Rome to restrain them within proper bounds; his holiness therefore sent an inquisitor, who unfortunately extended his own authority much beyond that which they wished to restrain, and the order had too soon the vexation to see a new power exercised in the very heart of its possessions. Every Maltese subject who had received a patent from the inquisitor, thought himself justified in throwing off the jurisdiction of the grand-master. This usurper, not satisfied with disputing and sharing the authority of the order, attempted to debase it; and the inquisitor Delci had even the audacity to insist that the grand-master should stop his carriage whenever they met in the street.

The popes made frequent attempts to direct the election of the grand-masters, and to appoint to that dignified post: they even pretended to look upon it as a right, which neither they nor any other sovereign could possibly possess, without destroying the very essence of the order. The preponderance of one Christian state over another, or over more than one, would immediately annihilate it; since in that case the favoured power would be able to dispose at pleasure of the forces of the order, which ought always to be equally and in-



distinctively employed for the defence of the whole Christian world. These different states were equally entitled to the same assistance, since they all not only sent their nobility to afford a continual supply of members, but at the same time furnished a revenue for their support.

During the great disputes which disturbed the peace of the convent under the reigns of Villaret, La Cassiere, and Verdale, it was frequently discussed who had the right of either suspending the superior from his functions, or of actually deposing him. This right was never allowed to be vested in the councils; and though the popes laid claim to it, they never attempted to enforce it, and had they pretended to act otherwise, their authority would have probably been most violently disputed. The truth is, that the statutes of the order were very much the same as the code of other countries, wherein no mention is made of the tribunal before which a sovereign must appear in case of forfeiture. If the grand-master had been only superior of a merely religious order, his judge would easily have been found; but being a sovereign, he possessed the prerogatives annexed to that dignity; and as such, before whom could he possibly have been cited? I know not how far the right of suspending and deposing the grand-master might have been disputed with the general chapter of the order approved by the pope, with whom they at the same time contested the power of naming or deposing that prince. It cannot, however, be denied, that the sovereign pontiffs possess-



ed great authority in the convent, of which they were incontestably the ecclesiastical superiors. I will now endeavour to explain in what that authority principally consisted.

The pope had undoubtedly a strict right to exclude any particular knight from the grand-mastership, that is, if he gave any plausible reasons for so doing; such as bad conduct, occasioning a public scandal, &c. But this disapprobation must have been made known before the election took place, for it would be afterwards of no effect; as was the case in the affair of the grand-master Redin, whose nomination the inquisitor vainly attempted to annul.

This right of the pope to exclude any particular grand-master was very much the same with that of the emperor, the kings of France, of Spain, and of Portugal, who had each taken upon himself the power of preventing a cardinal from being elected to the holy see; but in their case, as in the other, it was necessary that these different sovereigns should notify their intentions to their respective ambassadors before the opening of the conclave.

It is, indeed, true that the approbation of the pope was always received at the election of a grand-master, but this was merely to fill up a canonical and regular form, and not as an acknowledgment that the pope had the right of either accepting or refusing. He, however, possessed real prerogatives, and those of very great importance, such as those of giving his sanction to the assembly of general chapters which he had the



power to annul, of signing the statutes of the order, and of sending an inquisitor to Malta to inspect the ecclesiastical part of the government, and to execute bulls and briefs.

Having given some account how far the order depended on the pope, we shall now proceed to examine its situation in regard to the other Christian states, and in what consisted the reciprocal obligation which bound them to each other: this appeared founded on the grand principle, that the power which gave ought to receive. The order must therefore be dependent on those countries which furnished it with knights and revenues, and as such it was obliged to afford direct and constant assistance against the enemies of the Christian faith. This it never failed doing, as will be sufficiently proved in the course of this history. Having therefore been always exact in fulfilling its engagements with those states where it had any possessions, it was but just that the said states should be equally faithful to theirs; and in that point of view the dependence was reciprocal, with the difference indeed (which was both great and obligatory) between the power which *gave* and that which *received*. The sovereign from whom the order held Malta made one very particular condition, and that with the knowledge and consent of the other crowned heads; viz. That the order should prevent any attack being made on the Sicilian monarchy, which implied that it should never take part in any war against it, nor favour any of its enemies. This condition was so strictly adhered to by Malta, that in the war



between France and Spain, it was very near incurring the displeasure of Lewis XIV. for having fired on his navy, to fulfil the above-mentioned engagement. In order that this clause in the act of donation of Charles V. should be exactly adhered to, the bishop of Malta was admitted into the council as the agent of the king of Naples, but he had no vote.—Being thus equally dependent on all Christian powers in general, the order must necessarily be independent of any one in particular; and it has never been esteemed by any among them as tributary, but always regarded as an ally possessed of revenues by the same right and title as all other proprietors, and as such under the safeguard of laws which secured, not only to the prince, but to every private individual, the full enjoyment of his property. Few benefices had ever been more absolutely confirmed, since the different sovereigns had granted the most extensive privileges to the greatest part of them.

The sovereignty of Malta was universally acknowledged by princes of all religions\*, and it enjoyed all the prerogatives annexed to that dignity in every different court. It sent ambassadors throughout all Europe: a proper place was assigned them; and when, at the council of Trent, the bishops claimed precedence over the Maltese ambassador, their pretensions

\* The king of England addressed the grand-master by the following titles, *eminentissime princeps consanguinea et amice noster carissime*. The king of France gave the order the title of *très chers et bons amis*, and the grand-master that of *très cher et très aimé cousin*, in the same style as he addressed the dukes of Tuscany.



were disallowed. The same thing happened in Spain, where the Tuscan minister was also obliged to yield ; the king of Spain himself having decided in favour of the order.

The flags of every country saluted the Maltese vessels, and the galleys had a right to the first salute from all Christian princes : even Lewis XIV., whom no one could possibly suspect of relaxing in the smallest degree in an affair of ceremony, decided against himself in a dispute on this subject. In short, it was acknowledged in every court in Europe, that no prince who was not a crowned head could claim precedence over Malta.

If, as has been mentioned above, the authority of the grand-master was subject to some restrictions, he, notwithstanding, had great influence in the state, and the rewards he was able to bestow have frequently extended his power to a very great degree. It is true, that the legislative and executive power resided in the chapters and councils, in which he had but two votes ; but he alone could convoke the former, and no subject could be deliberated upon in the latter but what was proposed by himself, or, in his absence, by his lieutenant. The enormous expence of holding general chapters, the objections which might probably have been made by the popes to their being convened, the conduct of one of them, who in the grand-mastership of Paul appointed the inquisitor president of the general chapter, were not the only reasons which had brought them into disuse. The difficulty of obtaining the same pre-



ponderance in these meetings as in the councils had contributed not a little to the grand-master's convening no more of these assemblies, which, properly considered, were like all others of the same nature, and which, only meeting occasionally, always became in the end dangerous, tumultuous, and most commonly of no avail. It is not therefore very surprising that the grand-masters should prefer the councils, where nothing could be more easy than to ensure the majority of votes; since, by means of briefs, they could always bestow the grand-crosses on those whom they knew to be perfectly devoted to their service, and who in right of that great dignity had free entrance into the council, where they secured the greatest number of votes for their benefactor, who, consequently, became all-powerful in Malta. The grand-masters had the power of bestowing great favours on the knights of different languages; the statutes having granted them, 1st, a magisterial commandery in each priory, which they were at liberty to dispose of at pleasure—2d, They had the power of naming to a commandery in each priory once in five years—3d, They were allowed to tax the different benefices with the payment of a pension—4th, They received an *annate* or a year's revenue at every *mutation*—5th, They had a great many lucrative places in their gift, both in the island and in their household—and, 6th, the grand-master, on becoming sovereign, had a revenue assigned him which was sufficient not only to support his rank as a prince, but to enable him to bestow con-



siderable gifts and rewards on those he thought worthy of his protection. Indeed, this sum was originally intended to enable him to reward merit ; but it has more than once been disposed of to conciliate favour, and in that case it has been the means of the grand-master's eluding the restrictions which the law had so prudently laid on his authority.

Having thus marked the line between the different constituent powers vested in the government of Malta, and likewise that fixed between the foreign princes, we shall now proceed to trace that which was drawn between the sovereign and his subjects.



## C H A P. II.

*Government of the Knights over the Maltese. Laws to which they were subjected under the Dominion of the Kings of Sicily. Amendment of their Situation. Employments to which they might pretend. Their Association with the Government. The Formation of a Language composed of Maltese greatly favoured by France. Consequences which must infallibly result from such an Innovation.*

THE grand-master being invested by the order with sovereign power, had the same right and title to exercise it over the people as the emperor Charles V. ; and it will be sufficiently proved, after having examined the nature of the government which the order found established in Malta, that the alterations since made have not only greatly amended it, but considerably improved the situation of the subject.

In the year 1350 a kind of government was formed in Malta, by Lewis king of Sicily ; this consisted in a governor, with the title of *capitano d'armi e giustiziero*, called in Maltese *hakem* ; four municipal officers, named *giurati* ; of two others, termed *catapani* ; and of two judges, the one civil and the other criminal.

The *hakem* commanded the armed forces, administered justice, and exercised the police throughout the whole of the island.

The *giurati* had the management of every thing relative



to provisions and finances, and they judged in the second instance.

The functions of the *catapani* consisted in examining whether the provisions were of a good quality, and whether they were sold by just weight.

There were also two other officers ; the first called *il secreto*, who received the duties for the sovereign, and the other *il portulano*, who had the direction of the port, and the coasts round the island. There were the same employments, with the same prerogatives, at Goza.

An assembly of the people was convened every year, composed of the three orders of nobles, clergy, and plebeians ; in which meeting a list was made of the different persons who were capable of filling the above-mentioned places : this was called *scrutin*, and sent to the king or to the viceroy of Sicily, who generally named the officers from among those mentioned in the list. He sometimes, however, deviated from this rule, and made choice of them himself.

An assembly of the same nature continued to be held after the order was established in Malta, till the grand-mastership of Rohan. But it was always a mere matter of form, the sovereign being at liberty to make a choice among the different candidates who were presented to him on this occasion.

The order, being always particularly attentive to the interest of the community at large, thought it prudent to limit, in some degree, the authority of the superior in the exercise of



the legislative and executive power, that the subject might be secured from the despotism of a grand-master. The council therefore never yielded their right to giving a sanction as well as the grand-master to the code of laws, and likewise to the nomination of the judges.

Great attention was also paid to private individuals, and every possible means employed to make their situation more comfortable. Many places which, from the fifteenth century, had always been exclusively possessed by the nobles, were afterwards indiscriminately bestowed on the citizens.

Except in the above-mentioned circumstances, the government of the knights and that of the Maltese were entirely independent of each other. The former were however constantly kind and generous in their conduct towards their subjects, whom they did not wish to exclude from their order: but the impossibility that the Maltese should act at the same time in the double capacity of sovereign and subject, made it necessary to establish some forms to prevent so great an inconvenience.

After the knights of St. John of Jerusalem were settled in Malta, some noble Maltese families went to reside in Sicily, and the order afterwards allowed their descendants to become *knights of justice*. The only proofs required were, that their ancestors had held those employments in Malta, which had ever been particularly reserved for the nobles.

Those Maltese who were possessed of noble fiefs in the



island with royal investiture, and who continued to reside in Malta, might also become members of the order by sending their wives to Sicily to lie in ; but this could not be done without the approbation of the grand-master. These knights enjoyed the same prerogatives as their brethren, except, indeed, that they could not be raised to the dignity of sovereign ; the order being perfectly aware of the great danger of having a Maltese grand-master, who could so easily succeed in either governing despotically, or in making himself entirely independent. The Maltese themselves were very sensible of the wisdom and justice of this restriction, to which they never at any time made the smallest objection.

The order, however, offered them no small compensation for being excluded from the first dignity ; since they were permitted to fill some very important posts, such as the bishop's see, and the grand-priory of the church of St. John.

These two great places were given by the pope exclusively to the knights of justice, and they were habitually filled by the Maltese, who were consequently admitted into the general chapter and councils, where they took their place to the right and left of the sovereign\*.

Some of the Maltese who had been particularly serviceable to the order, and who merited the attachment of their

\* The last grand-prior of St. John's was a Maltese, named Mainéillé.—That post has likewise been filled by many others of the same nation ; viz. John George Pery, brother Nicholas, Ambroglie, &c.



fellow-citizens, were ennobled by the grand-master, and thus became capable of enjoying the same privileges as the most ancient noble families of the country.

Before the late unfortunate events in 1798, the Maltese people were never known to murmur in the smallest degree. The sovereign was continually bestowing new favours on his subjects, who, in their turn, never ceased to lavish on him praises and blessings. In all the divisions which at different times took place in the order, the people constantly remained quiet; and even in the late treacherous surrender, the really guilty were not among the lower class, but in the higher ranks. Those, however, who thus unfortunately swerved from their duty, soon repented their errors, and bitterly imprecated vengeance on the traitors who had induced them to rebel against their sovereign.

The knights, as has been already observed, had nothing in common with the Maltese; consequently no disputes could possibly arise between them, since their judges were chosen from among themselves, as were likewise their municipal officers: in short, all civil employments, even those which related to the finances, were filled by the natives; the sovereign alone having the right to send his representative to the tribunals, and to the Town-hall.

To prevent the most distant idea of corruption, the knight who presided in the courts of justice was not only changed once in three years, but his place was always filled by one of



a different language. The grand-masters having only made use of their right three times to add to the severity of the sentence passed by the tribunals, though they continually exerted the same right to soften it, were most severely reproached for their conduct; notwithstanding the criminals were either pirates, or convicted of high-treason and sacrilege.

The French government perceiving its influence insensibly decreasing in Malta, and feeling the great importance of preserving it, employed every possible method to recover their power; but being unable to make the people act against their own interest, they suggested the idea of endeavouring to introduce into the order some malecontents and enthusiasts in favour of the fashionable new principles; and mention was then first made of associating the Maltese with the government of the knights, by creating a ninth language composed of that nation. The consequence of this arrangement was too clear to escape the least penetrating eye; and the man who most openly favoured such a plan was placed by the French at the head of the Maltese government, the moment they became possessed of the island. Indeed, in whom could they better place their confidence than in the person who had so completely seconded their views throughout the whole of the transaction?

The people must naturally be losers from such a change, since the moment a part of the sovereignty became vested in them they must necessarily contribute to the expences; they,



therefore had no share in this new project: The institution of a ninth language must of course require a revenue for its use, and how could this be raised without laying on additional taxes? Of what an extraordinary mixture would this new language be composed! since it must necessarily consist partly of nobles, such as the knights of justice, and partly of counsellors, attorneys, and other persons of the same stamp, such as servants of arms, &c. The same men who had been the most attached to the directory endeavoured to persuade the Maltese that, when once subject to the government of France, the whole of that fine country would be open to their ambitious views, which would be a sufficient recompence for having hitherto moved in so confined a sphere. The taxes raised on this occasion must inevitably have fallen on that part of the people who had no concern in the affair.

To avoid therefore disgusting the Maltese, not a word was mentioned of bestowing any property on these new knights, servants of arms, and chaplains. The small number of Maltese possessed of great fortunes, and the still smaller who could have had any pretensions to be received knights of justice, must have concentrated that dignity in a very few families, which would consequently have opened a wide field for the greatest corruption.

Notwithstanding the ancient noble families of Malta were entirely extinct, not a single descendant in a right line remaining, no one had an idea of proposing, nor even thinking it



possible, to establish a ninth language, so different from the other eight; and in which, amongst a variety of things, there was to be no distinction between the knights of justice, the chaplains, and the servants of arms. Such an innovation could be neither agreeable to the Maltese, nor suitable to the knights; since it must be injurious to the former, whose representatives must act a subaltern and disgraceful part among a body formed of the most distinguished nobility in Christendom; and at the same time very unpleasant to the latter, who would thus see the most incoherent, and consequently the most destructive, elements introduced into the very heart of their order. The favourite plan of the French was very well known, and if it succeeded they hoped to reap the double advantage of introducing democracy into an aristocratical government, and likewise rewarding those Maltese who had revolted against that government. If the advantages which either the Maltese or the order could promise to themselves in an association of such a nature were fairly considered, it would be easily seen, that this ninth language must necessarily find itself in the disagreeable predicament of becoming either null or turbulent:—null, from the impossibility of undertaking any thing against the united will of the eight others; and turbulent, because there would be no other means of resisting such superior force but by sedition. Notwithstanding all these powerful motives against this institution, I have every reason to believe, that those Maltese who have given into revolutionary principles



will pursue the favourite plan so artfully suggested to them ; indeed, the practice they have adopted of dividing themselves between the French and English armies is equally artful and perfidious. They very well know, that no circumstances can happen again so favourable to their design, since the only two powers who now carry on the war will most probably make the peace which must inevitably decide their fate : both these powers are well disposed towards them ; the French owing them the reward of treason and defeat, the English that of repentance and success. The first will certainly never forget that the formation of a new language was the work of their hands, and without some great reverse of fortune, which is not very likely to happen, they will never abandon them : whilst the latter, calling to remembrance the services their army received during the blockade of Malta, will think themselves obliged to second the views of so useful an auxiliary ; whose good intentions, however, may very fairly be doubted, considering the manner in which they repulsed the respectable members who were sent to their assistance, and who attempted to land in the island, not to punish the inhabitants, but to take their place in the field of battle, to expose themselves to the same dangers, and to fight for the same cause. The presence of these knights might, indeed, be rather embarrassing to the Maltese chiefs ; with whose manœuvres, principles, conduct, and motives for conversion, they were but too well acquainted.

The same author who has written in favour of the Maltese



association, when he speaks of raising a regiment in Malta composed of foreign soldiers, commanded by the knights of different languages, appears apprehensive that such an armed corps might sooner or later obtain a dangerous influence, which would disturb the public peace, and in time might become a restraint on the liberty of electing a grand-master. He therefore wishes that the safety of the order might be committed to the care of the Maltese, and entirely depend on their loyalty and affection. The question next naturally occurs, whether the influence of the Maltese, in their double capacity of sovereign and subject, would not be infinitely more dangerous than that of this so much dreaded regiment? For of what avail would be the opposition of a few hundred knights, against the united efforts of thousands of rebellious Maltese, who would have the greatest possible interest in naming one of their own nation to the dignity of sovereign? These revolted subjects being perfectly convinced that they would be repulsed with indignation by all monarchical governments, would immediately after their insurrection address themselves to the one which had always favoured rebellious subjects, and with which indeed the Maltese had ever been the most intimately connected. These considerations ought to induce the different powers to name a protector for Malta as soon as possible, and at the same time to elect a grand-master.

It would be a most fortunate circumstance for Malta were this protector to be chosen from some one of the most power-



ful nations in Europe, since the independence of the order would be then preserved: it is likewise greatly to be wished that the superior should be elected in the island, and the ancient forms observed at that ceremony kept up as much as possible\*.

The kingdoms of Naples and of Spain have at all times been regarded as the natural defenders of Malta, but their present situation with respect to the French republic must necessarily prevent them from acting in a capacity which requires the most perfect independence. The jealousy subsisting between France and England must always exclude those two nations from this important island. Russia and Austria are therefore the only powers whose protection can be really useful to the order.

A charge of such importance ought to be confided to both these powers, to prevent the danger of the order becoming dependent on a single protector, and thus losing the right it has hitherto had to a general interest in its favour.

The Maltese, as will be clearly proved in the course of this history, have enjoyed an uninterrupted state of happiness for nearly three centuries, without ever having uttered the

\* This is the plan of conduct adopted by Russia, which equally evinces the moderation of the young emperor, and the wisdom of his ministers. See, in Appendix, the proclamation of the emperor Alexander (in which he merely takes the title of protector of the order), and the decree of the provisional council for the election of a grand-master from among the professed knights according to the ancient forms, at least as nearly as they can possibly be observed, whilst the members of the order are so generally dispersed.



smallest complaint against their sovereign. Let them, then, remain in their former situation, and there will be nothing to apprehend from their attempts; let care, however, be taken not to favour, on pretext of bettering their condition, the secret designs of some ambitious men, and at the same time those of other governments. The zeal and attention of the order to maintain the independence of Malta, which is absolutely essential to its existence, may be safely relied on, but an equal dependence cannot be placed on the Maltese to preserve it; if, indeed, that independence were lost for a moment, it was when these people abandoned the knights, united to whom they would have been always invulnerable.—I own I can scarcely believe it possible that persons whose opinions I greatly respect could in their conscience wish, and even solicit, to be joined to the government of Malta; for they certainly must have reflected on the extent and consequences of such a pretension, which might authorise the Canadians to demand being associated to the English government, and at the same time thirty-three millions of people who inhabit Bengal to make the same request. The difference between the above-mentioned inhabitants and the Maltese, consists in the former paying taxes to encrease the revenue of their sovereign, whilst the latter enjoy the benefits accruing from the revenue of theirs, without being subject to any imposts.

It is to this association system that, at the close of the eighteenth century, the world is indebted for the dismem-



berment and overthrow of different states, and that in a manner unexampled in history. To this, indeed, is it owing that the French colonies insisted on sending representatives to the national assemblies in France, the effects of which first association was, that the mulattoes and negroes asserted their right to freedom, declaring they would fill the same employments as the whites, and that the blacks are at this moment sovereigns of the richest colony in America.

But as all human institutions must necessarily retain something of the natural imperfection of man, the government of Malta cannot be supposed to be entirely free from defects. Its existence and great successes for more than two centuries and a half, must, however, prove its excellence, and speak forcibly in its favour. If the Maltese are discontented, and have cause for complaint, I can only tell them, as a knight of Malta, and in the name of the whole order, that family affairs should always be judged at home.



## C H A P. III.

*The Order divided into different Classes. Proofs of Nobility requisite to be admitted into the First; Proofs of being free Citizens necessary to enter into the Second. Inns. Egard, the name of a Tribunal of Justice for trying the Knights; the Manner in which it was composed; why assembled. The Ceremony of depriving a Knight of the Habit; that of restoring it to him. How far their Obedience was required. Reception of a Donat, or a Brother de Stage.*

THE hospitallers, merely considered as a religious order, were divided into three different classes, according to their birth, rank, and functions.

The first class was composed of the *knights of justice*. The second, included the *religious chaplains*, and *priests of obedience*. The third, the *serving brothers*.

The knights of justice were those who from the formulary of their profession, and the ancient nobility of their lineage were entitled to be admitted to so high an honour.

The religious chaplains were those, who from their profession were attached to the original church of St. John, where they performed divine service. The almoners for the great hospital of Malta, and those for the galleys and other vessels belonging to the order, were chosen from this body of men. There were also *priests of obedience*: these were ecclesiastics



who having taken the religious habit and the vows, were never obliged to go to Malta, but were particularly attached to the service of some of the churches of the order under the authority of either the grand-prior or of a commander. Those among them who had not taken the vows, but who performed parochial duty in some of the livings of the order, were removable at pleasure.

The *serving brothers of arms* were of the religious order; and, without being either priests or knights, were equally obliged during war, or in the infirmary, to serve under the knights, to make four caravans with them each of six months. They, equally with the chaplains, possessed commanderies in the different languages; and they passed from one to another according to seniority, that is to say, according to the time of their reception.

The *brothers de stage* or *donats*, were employed in the different offices of the convent and hospital. They wore what was termed the demi-cross, which was granted to those who had deserved being rewarded by the order, whilst employed in subaltern posts, such as first pilots of the galleys, and adjutants of the troops. There were also religious dames of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, who had houses in France, Italy, and Spain. These dames were obliged at their reception to make the same proofs as the knights of justice. Some of the houses were extremely celebrated, such as *Sixen* in Arragon, and *Olgoveira* in Catalonia, where the proofs of nobility



requisite for the reception of the knights of justice were not sufficient for a dame of the choir, whose nobility was obliged to be proved so very pure, and of such ancient date, that it exceeded by some degrees what the statutes required for the former.

In former times the knights who dedicated themselves to the service of the hospital of St. John, and to the defence of the holy sepulchre, could only be received at Jerusalem or in the Holy Land, whither the nobles sent their children at a very early age, that they might be educated in the chief house of the order, where they flattered themselves they would not only imbibe principles of the strictest piety, but at the same time become adepts in the science of arms. These young gentlemen could not be received without producing authentic testimonies of their noble origin, attested by the priors of the countries in which they were born; the same priors were also obliged to give them commendatory letters, with a promise that they should take the habit of the order and make their profession at twenty years of age, which was the time fixed upon for seculars to be received knights. But this custom of only professing knights in the chief house of the order was but of short duration; for the considerable numbers who continually fell in combating the infidels, made it necessary to replace them by fresh recruits, and this forced the chapters and councils of the order to consent, that after the proofs of nobility were sufficiently examined, the habit of



novice should be given in the different grand-priories beyond the sea ; and as at that period *misalliances* among the nobility were absolutely unknown, the candidate required no other proof at his admission than the names of his father and mother, who were justly supposed to be descended from gentlemen of note and bearing arms. Such were the reigning principles and spirit in the days of chivalry ; but the same nobles, whose blood was then so pure, being exhausted and drained by the inevitable expences attendant on war, found themselves in a short time obliged to make a traffic (if I may so express myself) of this noble blood by unequal marriages, and it was no longer uncommon to see nobles, and gentlemen of note bearing arms, intermarry with rich plebeians. The knights of St. John fearing that such misalliances would end in debasing the order, were it to receive any knights sprung from these marriages, resolved to make a regulation which required the drawing up of a verbal process with written titles, in order to establish the legitimacy and the descent of the candidate, with the testimonial proofs of his father, mother, grand-father, grand-mother, great-grand-father, and great-grand-mother, for above a hundred years, likewise the eight quarters properly blazoned ; and the testimony of the candidate that his great-grand-father and grand-father were acknowledged as being of note and bearing arms. For some years this last article was not very strictly examined into in France, and the government of that country frequently insisted that the order should not be very



rigorous in the observance of it. If, however, it was sometimes sufficiently indulgent to receive knights sprung in the female line, from the families of financiers and magistrates, it was always particularly strict in requiring the proofs of nobility and the eight quarters on the father's side, dispensations being never granted but for the mothers, and that only in very particular cases. These proofs were obliged to be *testimonial, literal, local, and secret*; but this was not the case in all the other languages, as will be presently seen.

The *testimonial proof* was so called, because it was the result of the testimony of four noble witnesses gentlemen of note, and bearing arms. These were obliged to make oath of the truth of their assertions before commissioners who were usually ancient commanders, and who examined them separately on the occasion.

The *literal proof* was taken from title-deeds, contracts, acknowledgments of tenures, and surveys produced by the candidate; marriage contracts and wills, though necessary to prove his descent and legitimacy, were not sufficient to prove his nobility\*: and recourse was had to *partition of lands of a noble tenure*; to *deeds of guardianship*; to *grants of the wardships of lands held in capite*; to *acts of fealty and homage*; to *acknowledgments of vassalage and surveys*; to *commissions, warrants, and grants, of posts and dignities which imply gentility*; to *summons for attending the king in the field*; in short, to *monu-*

\* It is very well known how easily notaries give titles and qualifications in such sort of deeds without ever examining whether they are due or not.



*ments, epitaphs, coats of arms; to painted glass windows, and ancient escutcheons in churches.*

The *local proof* was what was given by the commissioners in the country where the candidate was born, whose office it was to inform themselves particularly whether his parents and ancestors were gentlemen of note bearing arms.

The *secret proof* consisted in an enquiry made by the commissioners unknown to the candidate. The witnesses on this occasion were not required to be noble, but were chosen for their probity. It was formerly the custom in the three different languages of France—viz. that of Provence, Auvergne, and France—when the four necessary proofs were allowed to be solid and conformable, to draw up a verbal process, which was carried to the chapter of the priory, and from thence taken to the two new commissioners, who examined whether strict observance had been used in taking informations, to the rules prescribed by the statutes; and if it appeared that nothing had been omitted, this verbal process, together with the arms properly blazoned with the eight quarters, were sent to Malta, whence permission was returned to give the habit of the order to the candidate; who from that moment was entitled to wear the golden-cross, which cannot be worn by the serving brothers of arms without the permission of the grand-master; but this may be given verbally.

Four quarters were only requisite in the Italian language, but two hundred years of nobility were necessary for each of



these quarters, viz. the father and mother, the grand-father and grand-mother; and these four houses must each be proved noble for two hundred years. More than four quarters were not required in blazoning the arms, there being no occasion to notice the great-grand-father as in France. In the republics of Genoa and Lucca, and in the territories of the grand-duke, commerce and banking-houses were not derogatory, though they were so in every other priory throughout Italy, and in all the different languages belonging to the order. They have, however, frequently been as little scrupulous in that particular in the pope's dominions, as in Genoa and Florence.

The languages of Arragon and Castille required the candidate to produce the names of the four quarters—that is to say, those of his father and mother, grand-father and grand-mother—and to declare of what country these four houses originally were. Commissioners were then sent thither to take all necessary informations, and particularly to enquire whether these families were descended from Jews or Mahometans, neither of which were admissible into the order; and this circumstance has frequently raised great difficulties in Provence\*, and that in the greatest families of the country. The simple testimony of nobles and gentlemen was sufficient to be received into the Arragonian and Castilian languages, without either deeds or contracts.

\* The last general chapter softened the severity of this statute.



In the kingdom of Portugal, which made a part of the language of Castille, it was necessary to take either secret or preliminary informations respecting the quality of the houses with four quarters ; because the ancient kings of that country had established the custom of carefully preserving the names of all noble families throughout the kingdom, in a public register.

Sixteen quarters were necessary for the reception of a knight of the German language, and the same proofs were required in the noble colleges of that nation. The gentlemen whose testimonial depositions were taken on this occasion were obliged to make oath that all the sixteen quarters were noble; and so strict were they in this language, that they would not pass over one single quarter which had been refused in any college : neither would they admit the natural children of their sovereigns, which were received in all the other languages, and even into that of the Anglo-Bavarian, which in every other particular required the same proofs as the German language.

When all the different proofs required of a knight were made sufficiently clear, he might be admitted into the order at three different times, and at three different ages. He was received *in majority* at sixteen, though he was not obliged to go to Malta before he was twenty ; and, indeed, a dispensation was easily obtained for his waiting till he was a little older. Twelve years of age was the time fixed for his being received



page to the grand-master; and he was admitted *in minority* even from his cradle. This last custom was established at the holding of the general chapter in 1631, when it was resolved that a cloister in the style of that at Rhodes\* should be built at Malta, in which the members of the order should be lodged separately from the secular inhabitants. Money being wanting in the treasury for so considerable an undertaking, it was determined to raise a sufficient sum for the purpose, by granting a hundred dispensations for receiving an equal number of young children into the order, each of whom was to pay a thousand crowns for the *passage duty*, without reckoning some other trifling ones. These hundred dispensations were presently granted, and the money paid; but the cloister never was built, and the sums thus collected were employed for other purposes: they also invented a very convenient expedient, which was, when there was no general chapter, to have recourse to the authority of the pope, who granted them particular briefs, by which he gave permission for these minority receptions, on condition of paying three hundred and sixty Spanish pistoles† for the passage duty: this duty took its rise from a sum of money which a young gentleman, who was desirous of taking the habit either at Jerusalem or Rhodes, formerly paid to the patron (or guide) who conducted him thither. The passage duty of minority for chap-

\* This was called *Collachium*.

† A Spanish pistole is worth eight Maltese crowns and five grains, or sixteen shillings and eight pence.



lains and servants of arms was fixed at two hundred and eighty-eight Spanish pistoles. That of majority for the knights and grand-master's pages at one hundred and twenty-five; that for the chaplains at a hundred; that for the servants of arms at a hundred and fifteen; and that for the brothers de stage at thirty-three. The knights of majority and grand-master's pages of the German language only paid seventy-five pistoles; but those of minority paid exactly the same as the other languages.

The brothers, chaplains, or conventuals, and the servants of arms, were also obliged to make certain proofs; such as that they were of honest parentage, or born of parents who had never been in servitude, or followed any low art or trade. They were likewise required to prove that their fathers, mothers, grand-fathers, and grand-mothers, were all born in lawful wedlock; indeed, they were obliged to produce the same proofs of being free citizens as the knights of justice of being noble. These serving brothers of arms were, in virtue of their religious habit, considered as making part of the body of the order; they were summoned equally with the knights of justice at the election of a grand-master, and gave their votes on the occasion.

The bishop of Malta and the prior of the church of St. John, who were next in rank after the grand-master or his lieutenant in the councils, were always chosen from the body of brother chaplains; but they were the only two out of that class who could have any share in the government, the whole authority being vested in the knights of justice. The brothers of







PL. XIII



*A Professed Knight in the Habit worn at his reception.*

Published by J. M. Johnson, London. M.D.C.C.C.



the church and servants at arms were also received and supported in the same manner as the knights in the inns of their different languages.

There was a palace or inn for each language in Malta, where all the members of the order, whether knights, serving brothers, professed or novices, might equally eat. The commanders seldom went thither: indeed, those who were possessed of a commandery worth two thousand Maltese crowns could not be admitted; neither could the servants of arms, if they had a commandery of a thousand Maltese crowns. The chief of each inn was called the *pillier*, and he received either a sum of money or the equivalent in grain from the treasury, for the provision of the members of his inn. The rest of the expences were paid by himself, for which he was indemnified by the first vacant dignity in his language.

I shall now proceed to give some account of the manner in which the brothers of the order of St. John of Jerusalem were professed. The statutes which treat of their reception are so simple, and, at the same time, so religious, that I thought it best to leave them in their original state, since no change I could possibly make in the expressions would give so just an idea of the subject. But in order to render this article still more complete, I shall add an account of the customs observed in the tribunals for the trial of the knights, for depriving them of the habit, and for restoring it to them; as also the declaration of obedience, and the reception of the



brothers de stage or donats. As I shall cite the oath taken on the occasion from the original text, the extent of their obligations will be better understood. Many authors have given very false ideas of this oath, owing, perhaps, to their never having read it, or to their having interpreted it in a wrong sense.

“ Those who are determined to dedicate themselves to the  
“ service of the sick, and to the defence of the Catholic reli-  
“ gion, in the habit of our order, are received at their pro-  
“ fession in the following manner:—They ought to be perfectly  
“ well acquainted that they are about to put off the old man,  
“ and to be regenerated, by humbly confessing all their sins,  
“ according to the established custom of the church; and, after  
“ having received absolution, they are to present themselves in  
“ a secular habit, without a girdle, in order to appear perfectly  
“ free at the time they enter into so sacred an engagement,  
“ with a lighted taper in their hands, representing charity, to  
“ hear mass, and to receive the holy communion.”

They afterwards presented themselves most respectfully before the person who was to perform the ceremony, and requested to be received into the company of brothers, and into the holy order of the Hospital of Jerusalem. He then addressed them in a short speech, to confirm them in their pious designs, to explain how salutary and advantageous it was to consecrate themselves to the service of the poor in Christ Jesus, to be constantly employed in works of mercy, and to devote them-



selves to the defence of the Christian faith—a favour which many had vainly attempted to obtain. He proceeded to point out the engagement they were to enter into of perfect obedience;—the severity of the rules, which would no longer permit them to act for themselves, which obliged them absolutely to renounce their own will and pleasure, and implicitly to comply with that of their superiors; so that if ever they felt an inclination to do one thing, they were compelled by their vow of obedience to do another.

He next asked the candidate whether he found himself disposed to submit to all these obligations; whether he had ever before taken the vows in any other order; whether he had ever been married; if his marriage had been consummated; if he owed any considerable sums; and if he were a slave: because, if, after having taken the vows, it were discovered that he had done any of these acts, or had been in the last-mentioned situation, he would be immediately stripped of his habit with disgrace, as a deceiver, and given up to the master to whom he formerly belonged.

If he declared that he had contracted no such engagements, the brother who received him presented him an open missal, on which he placed both his hands, and having answered all the above questions, made his profession in the following terms:

*“ Io N. faccio voto e prometto a Dio onnipotente, ed alla Beata Maria sempre Vergine, madre di Dio, ed a San Gio-*



*vanni Battista di osservare perpetuamente, con l'ajuta di Dio, vera obediienza a qualunque superiore che mi sara dato da Dio, e dalla nostra religione, e di piu vivere senza proprio e d'osservar castita."*

" I N. do vow and promise to Almighty God, to the holy  
" eternal Virgin Mary, mother of God, and to St. John the  
" Baptist, to render, henceforward, by the grace of God, per-  
" fect obedience to the superior placed over me by the choice  
" of the order, to live without personal property, and to pre-  
" serve my chastity."

Having taken his hands from the book, the brother who received him said as follows: " We acknowledge you as the  
" servant of the poor and sick, and as having consecrated your-  
" self to the defence of the Catholic church." To which he answered: " I acknowledge myself as such." He then kissed the missal, placed it on the altar, which he likewise kissed, and brought it back to the brother who received him, in token of perfect obedience. Upon which, the brother took the mantle, and, shewing him the white cross upon it, thus addressed him: " Do you believe, my brother, that this is the  
" symbol of that holy cross to which Jesus Christ was fastened,  
" and on which he died for the redemption of our sins?" To which the new brother replied: " Yes, I do verily believe it." The other then added: " It is also the sign of our order, which  
" we command you constantly to wear." The new brother then kissed the sign of the cross, and the other threw the mantle



over his shoulders in such a manner that the cross was placed on the left breast. The brother who had received him then kissed him, saying: “ Take this sign in the name of the holy “ Trinity, of the holy eternal Virgin Mary, and of St. John the “ Baptist, for the encrease of faith, the defence of the Christian “ name, and for the service of the poor. We place this cross “ on your breast, my brother, that you may love it with all “ your heart ; and may your right hand ever fight in its de- “ fence, and for its preservation ! Should it ever happen that, “ in combatting for Jesus Christ against the enemies of the “ faith, you should retreat, desert the standard of the cross, “ and take to flight in so just a war, you will be stripped of “ this truly holy sign, according to the statutes and customs “ of the order, as having broken the vow you have just taken, and “ cut off from our body, as an unsound and corrupt member.”

He then put the mantle on the new brother, tied it with strings round his neck, and said : “ Receive the yoke of the “ Lord, for it is easy and light, and you shall find rest for your “ soul. We promise you nothing but bread and water, a sim- “ ple habit, and of little worth. We give you, your parents “ and relations, a share in the good works performed by our “ order, and by our brothers, both now and hereafter, through- “ out the world.” To which the newly professed knight answered *Amen*, (that is to say) So be it. After which, the brother who had received him, and all who were present on the occasion, embraced and kissed him in token of friendship, peace, and



brotherly love. The priests, particularly he who said mass, then repeated the following prayers :

“ Thou hast showered down thy mercy upon us, oh God !  
“ in the midst of thy temple—*Psalm*. The Lord is great, he  
“ is worthy to be praised in the city of God, even upon his  
“ holy hill, &c.

“ Behold how good and joyful a thing it is for brethren  
“ to dwell together in unity, &c. Glory be to the Father, &c.  
“ Thou hast showered down, &c. Kyrie eleison, Christe elei-  
“ son, Kyrie eleison. Our father, &c. Lead us not into tempta-  
“ tion, &c. Save thy servant, oh God ! who putteth his  
“ trust in thee. Send him help from thy holy place, and from  
“ Sion. Defend him, and let the enemy have no advantage  
“ over him, nor the wicked one approach to hurt him. Be  
“ unto him, oh Lord ! a strong tower from the face of his  
“ enemy, and from them that persecute him. Lord, hear our  
“ prayers, and let our cry come unto thee. The Lord be with  
“ you, and with your spirit.

“ Let us pray.

“ Oh God ! who convertest the wicked, and desirest not  
“ the death of a sinner, we most humbly beseech thy divine  
“ Majesty to send the assistance of thy heavenly grace upon  
“ this thy servant, who putteth his trust only in thy mercy ;  
“ and preserve him with thy continual help, that he may  
“ always serve thee truly, and never be led astray by any  
“ temptation, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.



“ Let us pray.

“ Oh almighty and everlasting God ! who alone workest  
 “ great marvels, send down upon N. thy servant the healthful  
 “ spirit of thy grace ; and, that he may truly please thee, pour  
 “ upon him the continual dew of thy blessing, through Jesus  
 “ Christ our Lord. Amen.

“ Let us pray.

“ The Lord receive thee into the number of the faithful !  
 “ and, whilst we his unworthy servants receive thee with our  
 “ prayer, grant thee his grace to do well, with the will to per-  
 “ severe therein, and bring thee to the happiness of eternal  
 “ life ! that, as brotherly love has united us on earth, the  
 “ goodness of God, which invigorates that love, may unite us  
 “ in heaven with his faithful servants. Grant this, oh Lord !  
 “ through the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, who liveth and  
 “ reigneth with the Father and the Holy Ghost, one God,  
 “ world without end. Amen.”

That the minds of the brothers might not be diverted from the duties of their profession by being engaged in troublesome and tedious law-suits, their predecessors imagined an easy and expeditious method of determining them, by what they called the *egard*, which was put in practice in the following manner :

Eight brothers being chosen, one out of each language, a ninth was called to them from any language at pleasure, who was to act as chief, or president of the *egard*. He was



chosen by the grand-master, or by the marshal, if the brothers happened to be under his jurisdiction; the others were named by the bailiffs, and *proclaimed* by the master equerry. The former, however, were not at liberty to choose any one belonging to the language of the contending parties, unless he was previously approved by them both.

From this egard the cause was carried before the *renfort of the egard*, where the number of brothers was doubled, which made two of each language; and from thence before the *renfort of the renfort*, where there were three of each different language: but the president always continued the same. If the parties did not abide by the award of those three égards, the *bailiff's egard* was added to them; and this was composed of eight conventual bailiffs, or their lieutenants. The master then named a different president, who was either another bailiff, a prior, or the prior of the church; but if he named a conventual bailiff, an ancient brother of the same language was appointed in his stead.

Every one of the eight had a single vote; the president alone had two, that is to say, the casting vote in case of equality. If there were no proper person for this post in one language, he was chosen out of another, so that each egard always consisted of nine members. If one or both the contending parties were bailiffs or priors, the president of all the égards must likewise be a bailiff or a prior.

When the parties appeared before the egard, the president



asked them whether they objected to any one of their judges; and if they did, the exceptionable person was changed for another: the plaintiff opened his case, and stated his grievance, even though the egard was assembled at the request of the defendant. The case having been fully heard, the depositions of the witnesses, which were not allowed to be taken down in writing, but always oral, were summed up. No advocate was permitted to plead except in the absence of the party, or in favour of some particular persons who were entitled to that privilege by the statutes. In this state of the process the parties were ordered to withdraw, and the brothers of the egard retired to take the decision into consideration. Two balloting boxes were then brought, one for the *ayes*, the other for the *noes*; and the ballot took place according to seniority. The president, on the parties being called into court, asked them whether or not they were willing to abide by the award of the egard; if they consented, they were dismissed a second time, and the president having put in his ball, the boxes were opened in the presence of the egard, and the state of the ballot examined: he that had the majority of votes carried his cause. The vice-chancellor committed the decision to writing, and communicated it to the public.

If either or both the parties refused to abide by the award, the vice-chancellor counted the balls a second time, and put down the number of votes for each party at the bottom of the sentence. This writing was kept by the president, and the *ren-*



*fort* summoned. If the parties still continued dissatisfied, the *renfort of the renforts* was assembled ; and afterwards the *renfort of bailiffs*, from which there was no further appeal, and the condemned party was obliged to submit to his fate.

On assembling the *renfort of the renforts* and *egard of the bailiffs*, it was necessary that the president of the first *egard* should be present with some of its members, in order to examine whether the parties had any thing more to say than what they had advanced before the first *egard*, and to incorporate their sentence into that pronounced by the last, that the whole together might form one single judgment.

After the pleadings were over, all the brothers of the first *egard* retired, except, indeed, the president, who kept his place in the *renforts* ; and when the *renfort of bailiffs* was about to pronounce sentence, this first president gave his ball in presence of the bailiff's president. The boxes were then opened, and the president of the first *egard* produced the votes in the order they were given, and this before some of the brothers who were present on the occasion. They were then counted, together with those of the *egard of bailiffs*, and the party who had the majority gained his cause, and the sentence was carried into execution.

The votes given by the *egards* were however to be kept secret, not only from the parties themselves, but from the different *egards* till the suit was finished. This manner of judging was formerly called *the justice of the house*. They even



proceeded in this court by default against the absent, that is to say, if they had been legally cited to appear; and no appeals were allowed to be made against the sentences pronounced, because such appeals would have reflected in some degree on the judgment of the court.

The egards were sometimes assembled to take cognizance of complaints made by the grand-master, his lieutenant, the marshal, or any other superior officer. On these occasions they only consisted of eight conventual bailiffs, or their lieutenants, and sometimes of only eight brothers, with either a prior or bailiff, who acted as president, and who was appointed by the grand-master. If the affair concerned the marshal, he made choice of a brother who had but one vote. After sentence was passed, no further appeal could be made to the egards, it being entirely definitive. One of the bailiffs was always of the same language as the accused party. The affair was decided by the majority of votes.

An egard assembled on account of a complaint made by the marshal, or any other superior except the grand-master, was composed of eight brothers, one from each language; but in case one of these languages should not be on the spot, the deficiency was necessarily supplied from another. This sentence was also definitive without appeal to the renfort. Other egards were likewise called in to examine into disputes arising betwixt individuals both in civil and criminal causes, and in that case appeals were made to the renfort, the renfort of ren-



forts, and to the bailiffs. A new tribunal or *egard* was erected in the last general chapter, for those criminal causes which were entitled to appeal from the sentence pronounced by the ordinary council. This was composed of a president named by the grand-master, taken from among the bailiffs *piliers* of the languages or their lieutenants, and of a knight from each language appointed by the said languages for two years. The sentence pronounced by this new tribunal was to be kept secret, and presented three times to the grand-master; when, if confirmed by him, it was executed according to the forms prescribed by the statutes. This tribunal was held in the same hall where the commissioners of state convened by the vice-chancellor were assembled. The appeal from the first sentence must be made within the space of eight days, in order that the members might be assembled on the ninth. If the grand-master or any other superior commanded any thing contrary to the statutes and customs of the order, the brothers were at liberty to call an *egard*; and if the master either refused or delayed its being assembled, the brother might still continue to insist upon it, and was not bound to obey the order given till the *egard* had decided on its propriety: whenever any dispute arose whether or not the *egard* ought to be held, the grand-master or council determined the question.

Whenever any brother of the order committed a crime of such magnitude as to deserve being deprived of the habit, the master, or his lieutenant authorised to act on this



occasion, informed the council of the affair, and asked advice of its members in what manner he should proceed ; the council, after maturely deliberating on the nature of the offence, ordered the proofs to be produced, and the information and depositions of the witnesses were received according to the form prescribed by the statutes and customs.

If the crime were thought sufficiently great to deprive the offender of the habit, the master or his lieutenant carried his complaint before the general assembly, which was convened for this purpose by the ringing of a bell, the usual ceremony observed on such occasions. He then made known the crime committed by the accused party : but if he wished to palliate the offence, to prevent the ill effects of so pernicious an example, he only said the offender had wronged the order of more than a silver mark ; and this he said in presence of the criminal himself, who was brought into the assembly with a strong guard by the master equerry.

The complaint having been read, the master, or lieutenant who presided in his stead, gave the bailiffs of the egard proper time to examine the business, and to attend to the informations, proofs, and interrogatories, put to the accused party, after which sentence was pronounced “ according to the law of God, to right reason, to the statutes, and laudable customs of the order.”

The master or his lieutenant then named the president of the egard, and deputed a member of the order of acknow-



ledged integrity, to appear as his attorney and carry on the prosecution; after which, the president and the bailiffs of the egard retired into another apartment, where the master's attorney on one side, and the criminal on the other, appeared before them. The attorney demanded that the culprit should be stripped of his habit (if the crime were heinous enough to deserve so severe a punishment), and the offender was allowed to answer and to make his defence. If he confessed his crime and sued for pardon, the egard went three several times to the master and to the assembly, to entreat forgiveness for him. If the former thought himself justified by the statutes in granting this request, they proceeded no further; but if he still continued to demand that he should be delivered over to justice, the egard returned to the place from whence it came.

If, on the contrary, the criminal denied the fact, the witnesses, informations, and proofs, were produced; and if he were convicted, either by his own confession or by the deposition of the witnesses, the egard proceeded to pass sentence, and he was condemned to be stripped of the habit. The master's attorney was then called in, and made acquainted with the sentence; after which he exhorted the criminal to follow the egard to the master and the assembly, before whom he again sued for pardon; the egard interceded for him. But if the master or his lieutenant continued inexorable, and orders were given to read the sentence, the president and the bailiffs of the egard, having received the same orders three several times, pronounced



sentence on the criminal, who, having been declared fully convicted, was condemned to be deprived of the habit.

The sentence having been thus made public, the criminal fell upon his knees before the master, or his lieutenant, and still continued entreating forgiveness; whilst the master equerry stood by his side, ready to execute the orders of the tribunal. The latter then turned towards the culprit, and addressed him in the following terms: “ Since by your crimes and disorderly life  
“ you have proved yourself unworthy of wearing in future the  
“ sign of the holy cross, and the habit of our order, which we  
“ bestowed upon you from the good opinion we had formed  
“ of the purity of your morals, we now deprive you of them;  
“ and this we do to encourage the worthy and terrify the  
“ wicked, to whom your fate will serve as an example. We  
“ therefore cut you off from the noble society of our brothers,  
“ and throw you from us, as a corrupt and mortified member.”  
After these words, the master equerry, by command of the grand-master, or his lieutenant, stripped the criminal of his habit, with the following ceremonies. At the first order he received he only placed his hand on the mantle; at the second he untied the strings of the pointed sleeves, letting them in part fall down before; and at the third, he untied the string which fastened on the mantle, and stripped it off his shoulders with these words: “ By the authority of the superior, I  
“ take from you the ties which bound on the yoke of the  
“ Lord, which is truly easy and light, together with the habit



“ of our order, which you have proved yourself unworthy to wear.”—The culprit was then reconducted to prison.

Should the accused party happen to be absent, he was first cited to appear, according to the form prescribed in the statutes and customs; but if he did not appear, and it was impossible to apprehend him, he was proceeded against as an outlaw; that is to say, if his crime were committed publicly, if it were directly contrary to the institutions of the order, and so notorious as to deserve deprivation of the habit. If then the offence were clearly proved, he was equally condemned by the egard, and the master, or his lieutenant, who declared him deprived of the habit after having observed the above-mentioned forms. A mantle was brought into the midst of the assembly, and, after the third and last command was pronounced, the master equerry took it and carried it away, to the reproach and ignominy of the criminal.

The order was ever accustomed to shew mercy and forgiveness to those who repented of their errors and returned to a regular life. Therefore, whenever one of the brothers who had been deprived of the habit as a punishment for his crimes had done penance for them, and manifested a sincere desire to reform, and by so doing had, according to the statutes, merited forgiveness, it was then thought proper to restore to him the habit, which was done in the following manner.

The grand-master, or his lieutenant, convened the assembly by the ringing of a bell, which being assembled, together



with the bailiffs, priors, other ancients and knights, according to the usual form, the master, or his lieutenant, gave orders to the master equerry to conduct the criminal into their presence; he accordingly appeared in a secular habit (or even in his shirt, with a rope round his neck, if his crime deserved such disgraceful treatment), with his hands joined, and holding a lighted taper, as a sign that he was shortly to be restored to the charitable good-will and affection of the order.

In this situation he threw himself at the feet of the grand-master, and respectfully supplicated his forgiveness; entreating to have the habit restored to him, and to be admitted once more into the society of the brethren; to which the master replied:—" Though it has been clearly proved, that your former faults have been the cause that you were justly deprived  
" of the habit of our order, yet, as we have reason to hope  
" that your conduct will be more regular in future, we will  
" consent to pardon you, to restore you the habit, and to re-  
" admit you into the society of our brethren: endeavour then  
" to live in such a manner, that we may not be obliged a  
" second time to make you feel the severity of justice. The  
" favour we grant you is very great, and is but seldom bestowed: we therefore wish it may tend to the welfare of  
" both your body and your soul."

The master equerry, by command of the grand-master, immediately took a mantle, which he threw over his shoulders,



and having tied it, said: "Receive for the second time the  
" yoke of the Lord, which is easy and light, and may it  
" contribute to the salvation of your soul!"

The restored knight praised God, thanked him for his goodness, and devoted himself to the service of the order.

Though the rules enjoined the brothers to obey all the commands of the grand-master without exception, there were some limits to this obedience, without which affairs could never have been properly regulated: these consisted in the rules, statutes, and laudable customs of the order, which commanded the brothers to obey the master for Jesus Christ's sake. Therefore if the master enjoined any thing over and above what they had promised, he was guilty of a sin which Jesus Christ forbade them to commit, since he required that all their actions should be just and right. This, indeed, was the principal aim of the rules of the order, and to which every article in them solely tended. For this reason, whenever the superior ordered the brothers to perform any thing which appeared to them contrary to the statutes, they were at liberty to call an *egard*. So far, and no further, did they understand their vow of obedience, which ought never to engage them beyond what was enacted in the statutes, or practised by the laudable customs of the order, which the superior was equally obliged with themselves to observe. If he acted contrary to his oath, a brother was no longer bound to obey him.

Those who were desirous of being received into the con-



fraternity, and to become brothers de stage or donats in the order, presented themselves before the brother who was to receive them, fell on their knees; and placing their hands on the missal which the brother held open, pronounced the following words: “ I, N. promise and vow to Almighty God, “ to the Blessed Virgin Mary, mother of God, to St. John the “ Baptist, and to the master of the order of St. John of Jeru- “ salem, that I will exercise, as far as in me lies, all possible “ good-will, charity, and affection, towards the master, bro- “ thers, and the order at large: that I will defend them and “ their estates to the utmost of my power; and that, if I should “ be unable so to do, I will reveal to them any plot against “ their interest, or indeed any thing prejudicial to them which “ may happen to come to my knowledge: that I will never be “ professed in any other order but in this of St. John. I therefore “ entreat, that, in case I should not make my profession, my “ body at my death may be allowed to be buried in the “ church-yard belonging to the order. I also promise to make “ a present every year at the festival of St. John the Baptist, “ in acknowledgment of my being of the confraternity.”

After these words, the brother who received him thus answered: “ Since you have made the aforesaid promises, we “ admit your soul, and those of your ancestors, to a participa- “ tion in all the divine offices, good works, prayers and masses, “ which shall be done and said for the future in our order;



“ beseeching our Lord Jesus Christ to make you partaker  
“ thereof.”

The brother then kissed him, as did all the rest who were present; and his name was entered in the register of the confraternity, together with the sum he had promised to give every year.

The above was the ceremony observed at the reception of a brother de stage, except in some particular priories, where the custom was different, and with which, in that case, it was necessary to comply.



CHAP. IV.

*A general and analytical Table of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. Its origin ; Formation and Administration ; Priories, Bailiwics, and Commanderies. Bailiwick of Brandenburg ; its Separation from, and Reconciliation with, the Order of Malta. Election of the Bailiff. Reception of the Knights. Situation of its Property. Association of the Order of Malta with Knights of a different Religion, approved by the Sovereign Pontiff.*

A GENERAL and ANALYTICAL STATEMENT of the ESTABLISHMENT of the ORDER.

Names of the eight languages. The eight dignities annexed to them. The respective functions of each.	Names and number of the priories and bailiwics belonging to each language.	Number of commanderies in each language or priory.	Sum paid into the treasury of the Order, by each language, in 1788.
I. PROVENCE. THE grand-commander: —By virtue of his office, perpetual president of the common treasury, comptroller of the accounts, superintendant of stores, governor of the arsenal, and master of the ordnance. He had the nomination (subject to the approbation of the grand-master and council) of all officers from the different languages; and to this he added the power of appointing to the various places of trust, in the church of St. John, and the infirmary.	Two grand priories.		Maltese crowns.
	St. Giles . . .	<div>1 Magisterial. 47 Of knights. 1 <i>Jus patronat.</i> 4 Of serving brothers and chaplains.</div>	477,395.
	Toulouse . . .	<div>1 Magisterial. 24 Of knights. 5 Of serving brothers and chaplains.</div>	
	Bailiwick of Manosque.		



Languages; dignities annexed; and functions.	Priorities and bailiwics belonging to each lan- guage.	Commanderies in each language or priory.	Sum paid in the year 1788.
---	--	---	-------------------------------

Maltese crowns

## 2. AUVERGNE.

The grand-marshal:—  
Had the military com-  
mand over all the order;  
excepting the grand  
crosses or their lieuten-  
ants, the chaplains, and other  
persons of the grand-  
master's household. He  
entrusted the grand stan-  
dard of the order to that  
knight whom he judged  
most worthy such dis-  
tinction. He had the  
right of appointing the  
principal equerry; and,  
when at sea, command-  
ed, not only the general  
of the galleys, but the  
grand-admiral himself.

Grand priory of Auvergne	of { 1 Magisterial. 40 Of knights. 11 Of serving bro- thers and chap- lains.	172,823.
-----------------------------	---	----------

Bailiwick of Lyons,  
formerly of Luc-  
cuil.

## 3. FRANCE.

The grand-hospitaller:  
—Had the direction of  
the grand hospital: he  
presented the overseer  
of the infirmary (who was  
a knight of justice), the  
prior of the infirmary,  
and ten writers to the  
council. The officers  
who filled these employ-  
ments were changed  
every two years. The  
post of grand-treasurer  
belonged to the com-  
mandery of St. John of  
Cerbal.

Three grand priorities.

France . . .	{ 2 Magisterial. 45 Of knights. 11 Of serving bro- thers and chap- lains.	742,823.
Aquitaine . .	{ 1 Magisterial. 25 Of knights. 5 Of serving bro- thers and chap- lains.	
Champagne . .	{ 1 Magisterial. 17 Of knights. 6 Of serving bro- thers and chap- lains.	



Languages; dignities annexed; and functions. Priors and bailiwics belonging to each language. Commanderies in each language or priory. Sum paid in the year 1788.

Seven priories. Maltese crowns.

4 ITALY.  
The admiral:—In the grand - marshal's absence, had the command of the soldiery equally with the seamen: he also appointed the *prud'homme*, or comptroller, and secretary of the arsenal; and when he demanded to be named to the generalship of the galleys, the grand-master was obliged to propose him to the council, which was at liberty to approve or reject him at pleasure.

Lombardy . . .	{ 1 Magisterial. 35 Knights.	} 564,802.
Rome . . . .	{ 1 Magisterial. 18 Knights.	
Venice . . .	{ 1 Magisterial. 27 Knights. 1 <i>Jus patronat</i> .	
Pisa . . . .	{ 1 Magisterial. 11 Knights. 4 Chaplains and serving brothers.	
Capua . . .	{ 1 Magisterial. 16 Knights. 3 Chaplains and serving brothers.	
Barletta . . .	{ 1 Magisterial. 10 Knights. 1 Chaplain and serving brother.	
Messina . . .	{ 1 Magisterial. 10 Knights.	

Bailiwics.  
St. Euphemia.  
St. Stephen.  
Holy Trinity of Venousa.  
St. John of Naples, Turin.  
St. Sebastian, jus patronat of the Barberini family.



Languages; dignities annexed; and functions.	Priories and bailiwics belonging to each lan- guage.	Commanderies in each language or priory.	Sum paid in the year 1788.
Three priories.			Maltese crowns.
5. ARRAGON.  The draper, or the grand - conservator :— Was charged with every thing relative to the con- servatory, to the cloth- ing, and to the purchase of all necessary articles, not only for the troops, but the hospital, &c.	Arragon, or Cas- tellan d'Emposta.	{ 1 Magisterial. 29 Knights.	} 276,137.
	Catalonia . . .	{ 1 Magisterial. 28 Knights.	
	Navarre . . . .	{ 1 Magisterial. 17 Knights.	
	Bailiwics.		
	Negropont, in com- mon with the lan- guage of Castille. Majorca. Caspa.		
Two priories.			
6. ENGLAND (since ANGLO-BAVARIAN lan- guage.)  <i>Turcopolier.</i> <i>(Turcopolle formerly sig- nified, in the language of the Levant, light- horseman.)</i> The Turcopolier com- manded the cavalry, and the guard stationed on the coast.	Ebersberg . . .	{ 1 Magisterial. 24 Knights. 4 Chaplains.	} 5175, and ought ad- terwards to have produced 15,120 Maltese crs.
	Poland (now Rus- sia) . . . .	{ 20 Knights. 3 Chaplains. 9 <i>Jus patronat.</i>	
	Bailiwic.		} 15,880, for the priory of Poland, before its union with that of Russia. This sum ought, at least, to be doubled.
	Neuburg.		



Languages; dignities annexed; and functions.	Priories and bailiwics belonging to each language.	Commanderies in each language or priory.	Sum paid in the year 1788.
7. GERMANY. The grand-bailiff of the order.—His jurisdiction comprised all the fortifications of the old city. He also commanded in the castle of Goza.	Four priories.		Maltese crowns.
	Germany . . .	{ 1 Magisterial. 26 Knights. 4 Chaplains.	} 98,291.
	Bohemia . . .	{ 1 Magisterial. 19 Knights. 4 Chaplains.	
	Dacia . . .		
	Bailiwic. Brandenburg.		
8. CASTILLE. The grand-chancellor:—Always presented the vice-chancellor to the council: his presence was likewise necessary whenever any <i>bulls</i> were stamped with the great seal, and he was obliged to sign them according to the 35th statute <i>de Bejulis</i> . Those who filled this office were required to know how to write and read.	Three priories.		
	Castille . . .	{ 1 Magist. 13 Knights.	} 375,335.
	Leon . . .	23 Knights.	
	Portugal, or Crato.	{ 1 Magisterial. 20 Knights. 6 Chaplains and serving brothers.	
	Bailiwics. Negropont, in common with the language of Arragon. Lora. St. Sepulchre. Zango, or Zera de las Neuve-Villas.		



Languages; dignities annexed; and functions. Priors and bailiwics belonging to each language. Commanderies in each language or priory.

		Two priories.	
Ancient language of ENGLAND. <i>Turcopolier.</i>	{	England . . .	{ 1 Magisterial. 32 Knights.
		Ireland . . .	{ 1 Magisterial. 20 Knights.
		Bailiwick. D'Aquila.	
New grand priory of RUSSIA, of the Greek church.	{	One priory.	{ 98 Knights. 17 Knights founded since, on the re- venue of the post. 20 <i>Jus patronat.</i>

The commanderies, and all other charges and property, in whatsoever country they were situated, belonged to the body of the order. These were let out in former times to receivers and secular farmers, who paid the rent into the common treasury: but the city of Jerusalem being at so great a distance (as was also the Island of Rhodes), the farmers were not always faithful to their trust; for which reason, the administration of this property was transferred to the grand-priors, who had each his particular district.—This was at first a simple deposit placed in their hands; but they soon encroached so far as to suppose it gave them a title to consider the property as their own: they therefore frequently on different pretences, and sometimes



without any whatsoever, applied it to their own use. This disorderly conduct forced the general chapters, and in default of such meetings the councils, to have recourse to a fresh expedient; which was, to name a knight of known property, and disinterested disposition, to superintend each estate and portion of property belonging to the order in the same district: but the time he continued in this office entirely depended on the good-will and pleasure of the council. The order sometimes entrusted this knight with the education of the young novices; and there was always a father-chaplain in this small community to say mass. The knight, who acted as superior, was first called *preceptor* and afterwards *commander*, which at that time only implied that the education of the young knights and the superintendence of the property of the order were recommended to his care. He was allowed to employ a portion of the revenue for the maintenance of his community, and for the relief of the poor in his district. He was also required to send a certain sum every two years to the common treasury, which was to be in proportion to the annual produce of the commandery. This feudal rent was called *responsion*, and has continued in use to the present times. The general chapters had a right to augment these *responsions* during war, and, indeed, whenever the order was in want of such supply.

To prevent the different cabals which might take place in a military order, and which would be attended by very ill consequences—or rather, perhaps, to afford a retreat for those



knights who had served the order for a long course of years—it was resolved that the administration of those commanderies should be bestowed according to seniority ; but, to keep them constantly in a proper state of dependence on their superiors, they were committed to their management by the council for a limited time—*ad decem annos, aut amplius, ad bene placitum nostrum*—according to the grants issued out by the court of chancery of Malta. If statutes were made to shew the particular circumstances which would authorise the displacing a commander, there were likewise others which were not only very prudent ones, but extremely encouraging to those who had acted well in their administration ; since, after five years' possession, and after the commander had sufficiently convinced the order of his good management, and of his having improved his commandery, he had a right to demand that he should be appointed to a richer and more considerable one.

That the estates of the order might be properly managed in different countries, they were divided into portions, and placed under the inspection of the grand-priors, who were appointed to watch over the conduct of the knights and commanders who resided in their priories. They also presided at the provincial chapters ; and when absent named a lieutenant to act in their place\*.

\* The grand-prior was obliged to visit the commanderies once in five years, and to order all proper repairs ; which commands must be obeyed : for in case of refusal, the person or persons were rendered incapable of being promoted. An appeal, however, might be made to the council on this occasion.



There are three different kinds of bailiffs in the order ; —the *conventual*, the *capitular*, and the bailiffs *per favorem et ad honores*.

The conventual bailiffs were so called, because it was their duty to reside in the convent. They were chosen by the languages of which they were the chiefs, and the *pilliers* of the inns. There was one to each language.

These knights were next in rank to the grand-master ; and though this dignity might have been changed according to seniority, yet the rule was not so absolutely obligatory as to preclude the languages and council from choosing those who appeared to them the most worthy of such distinction. Besides the conventual bailiffs attached to each language, there were two others raised to that dignity, viz. the bishop of Malta, and the prior of the church of St. John ; these were selected from the class of chaplains, and were the only two of that rank who were allowed to fill any of the dignified offices in the order.

Four of these eight conventual bailiffs were constantly obliged to reside in the convent, and indeed none were at liberty to absent themselves without the permission of the complete council : two votes out of three were necessary to obtain that permission ; and since the languages could not remain without a chief, they always named a lieutenant to act for each absentee.

Though the capitular bailiffs were not forced, like the con-



ventual ones, to residence, a general chapter could not possibly be held without those grand crosses, or at least without their proxies.

The third kind of bailiffs were chosen by favour *et ad honores*; and in default of a general chapter by the grand-master and council, under the sanction of a bull from the pope for that purpose. They enjoyed this prerogative a great length of time; but, in order to avoid the pressing recommendation of the different Christian powers, the grand-master and council gave up their right to this presentation; the popes, however, in quality of first superiors, supplied their place, and named these bailiffs in default, or in the absence, of the general chapter. These abuses of the pope's briefs were carried to such a length, that the order warmly, and indeed very justly, remonstrated against such proceedings; and it was then agreed that the pope should never confer this dignity on any one without the consent of the grand-master and council. Pope Pius VI. in 1785, decided that in future none but the generals of the galleys should have the grand cross by favour, and this determination has been adhered to ever since.

The bailiffs by favour had a right to assist at the council; but when there was question of presenting to commanderies, or any other vacant dignity, this title gave them no preference to those knights who had been received into the order prior to themselves, and who as such were always regarded as their superiors.



In former times all honorary offices were bestowed on the different languages indiscriminately, to be enjoyed only from one general chapter to another. The chapters then transferred such appointments to those who appeared most worthy of them; and ever since the end of the fourteenth century, they have been bestowed exclusively on the languages to which each office was particularly attached.

Mention ought to be made of the bailiwick of Brandenburg, which has ever been composed of the first Protestant nobility in Germany, and which had its origin at the time of the reformation, when the order suffered a dismemberment. This article may possibly appear to belong more particularly to the historical part of my work; I have, however, preferred inserting it here, and thus finishing every thing relative to the subject.

The great distance of the chief place of residence of the order of St. John of Jerusalem from Germany, together with the ambitious views of some of the members, induced the grand-prior of Germany and the bailiff of Brandenburg to separate from the order, and to make themselves independent\*. The divisions which took place in the convent during the reign of Foulques de Villaret, appeared to them a favourable opportunity to carry their plan into execution.

The conqueror of Rhodes having tarnished the glory of his arms by the luxury of his court, the effeminacy of his con-

к к 2

\* 1309.



duct, and the despotism of his government, was deposed by the knights in a general chapter, and Maurice de Pugnac appointed to succeed him. This election was not approved by the pope, but the knights of the language of Germany persisted in acknowledging for sovereign the new grand-master they had chosen, and for a time separated themselves from the order. The knights of the bailiwick of Brandenburg went still greater lengths, placed themselves under the immediate protection of the elector Waldemar, adopted the name of knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and chose a superior to whom they gave the title of master. This schism continued till 1382, when it was settled by a treaty concluded at Heimbach in Alsatia; one of the articles of which was, that the knights who had retreated to Brandenburg should be allowed to choose a bailiff or master; this choice, however, to be approved and confirmed by the grand-prior of Germany. The bailiffs of Brandenburg continued thus subject to the order till the reformation; when the Protestant religion having made great progress in Brandenburg, Saxony, and the neighbouring countries, the knights of these different nations embraced the new mode of worship; and the laws made at the peace of Augsburg\* and Westphalia relative to church lands, and other ecclesiastical property, were established in favour of those of Malta.

The house of Prussia took the bailiwick of Brandenburg

\* Called the peace of religion.



under its protection, and would not allow the commanderies situated in that country to be abolished.

The bailiff of Brandenburg had formerly commanderies under his jurisdiction, in the same manner as the grand-priories of the order. Six out of the thirteen in his dependence were destroyed by the Lutherans, and the others remain till this day.

None were elected bailiffs of Brandenburg but persons of the highest distinction; and from the beginning till very nearly the end of the seventeenth century, this post was always filled by one of the reigning royal family of Prussia: since that time, a prince of the younger branch of the same family has constantly been chosen for this high office.

The peace of Westphalia had exempted the bailiwick of Brandenburg from the payment of all future taxes to Malta, after having once given the sum of 2400 golden florins. The knights, notwithstanding, unwilling to be entirely separated from the order of St. John, frequently proposed paying responsions for their benefices to the grand-prior of Germany: they likewise offered sums of money for the maintenance of the squadron belonging to the order; and many among them even requested to make their caravans on board the Maltese galleys. But the knights of St. John absolutely refused to listen to any of these proposals; and all hopes of a reconciliation appeared to have vanished, when Frederic the Great of Prussia, wishing to favour the pretensions of his brother prince Fer-



dinand, who had been elected bailiff of Brandenburg, contrived to effect it;—an event which, without such an able negociator, would, most probably, never have taken place.

The chevalier Manchon, a captain in his Prussian majesty's service, was appointed in 1763 to repair to the grand-prior of Germany, to demand the confirmation of prince Ferdinand in his new dignity: he was likewise employed to settle a dispute which had arisen long before on account of the bailiwick of Brandenburg having discontinued paying some rents due to the order. After various negotiations, it was agreed that the ancient connection between the Protestant knights and those of Malta should be renewed\*, and that they should pay responsions into the common treasury in the same manner as the Catholic commanderies. From that time the Protestant knights were treated as brethren† by the grand-prior of Germany, and allowed to take the title of knights of St. John of Jerusalem.

On examining the rules and statutes adopted by the bailiwick of Brandenburg for the reception of a brother, and also for its administration, it will appear that they were very much

\* See a letter from the grand-prior of Germany, dated the 16th of May, 1763, to prince Ferdinand, and another of the same date addressed to the general chapter.

† See letter from the procurator of the common treasury to the commander Forel, receiver for the order of Malta in upper and lower Germany, dated 11th September, 1763, and signed by the secretary of the common treasury. Likewise the magisterial bull of the grand-master Emanuel Pinto, dispatched by the vice-chancellor of the order on the 9th of May, 1764.





*Portrait of Prince Ferdinand of Prussia. Bailiff of Brandenburg.*

Published by W. F. Johnson, London. May 1850.



the same as those formerly employed in the language of Germany, subject, indeed, to some modifications occasioned by the difference of religion, and form of government.

Within the bailiwick of Brandenburg, all claimants to be received into the order of St. John of Jerusalem must apply to the bailiff, whose answer either the council or regency returns. If it be favourable, the candidate must first produce a tree of genealogy comprising the sixteen heraldic quarters indispensable for his reception. He is moreover held to adduce proofs of the day of the birth and demise of such ancestors as are therein recited; and the whole exemplification must be signed, being first duly sealed with their arms, by four gentlemen sworn to the truth of their depositions—two to the proofs on the paternal, and two to those on the maternal, side.

To these formal investigations succeeds a re-examination of the genealogical proofs of the candidate, entered upon by the regency and two commanders bound by their oaths to pass over no defect; when, in the case of a favourable issue, a letter is dispatched by the bailiff of Brandenburg to announce his reception (this is called a letter of *reversion*), in which is mentioned the commandery to which he may in future have pretensions, together with the names of all those knights who have an equal right to aspire to that dignity\*:

\* This letter is signed by the bailiff, the chancellor, and several commanders.



from that moment he is inscribed as belonging to the order, and his right of seniority commences from the same time. The expence of obtaining this first letter is about fifty-five crowns; and the other fees paid into the receiver's office of the bailiwick, amount to three hundred and thirty. The reception of a knight may, indeed, be estimated at a hundred pounds sterling, on account of journey and other necessary expences. According to the statutes, the candidate must be a native of Germany, and of the Protestant religion, though this rule has been deviated from on two or three occasions\*. The rever-sionary letters are never sent to any candidate under the age of fourteen years, and no one can be received into the order before eighteen. The ceremony of reception is performed by the bailiff, who is at liberty to delay it till the knight is called upon to take possession of the commandery allotted to him from the beginning. Whenever the bailiff thinks proper to create profess-ed knights, and to permit them to wear the cross, he makes choice among the persons inscribed as candidates for the com-manderies of those he particularly approves, and appoints a day for them to attend at *Sonneburg*†, the principal place of residence in the bailiwick, and where the ceremony of reception is always performed in the following manner:—

The bailiff, seated in a chair of state facing the altar,

\* In favour of the count de Bestucheff, the Russian minister at the court of Prussia (who received the cross of honour), and of a Swedish gentleman.

† A small town, thirteen German miles from Berlin.



causes the new knight to advance, who, being asked the usual questions relative to the favour he is come to request, and that favour being granted, kneels down, and laying his hand on the New Testament, takes the following oath, which is read to him by the chancellor. “ I swear to be faithful and obedient to  
 “ the order ; to do every thing in my power to contribute to  
 “ its glory, prosperity, and utility ; to combat every thing pre-  
 “ judicial to its well-being ; never to act contrary to its dignity,  
 “ but to conduct myself always as a true knight, that is to  
 “ say, as a good Christian and a man of honour.”

Having thus made oath in presence of the bailiff, the knight prostrates himself before the altar ; and the bailiff, who alone has the right of wearing the golden spur, gives him three strokes on the shoulder with the sword of the order, saying each time, *better knight than vassal* \*. The bailiff then returns to his seat, presents the professed with the small cross of white cloth, and ties on the golden one. One of the ancient knights throws over his shoulders the black cloak and white cross.

The reception being over, the chancellor reads aloud the engagements contracted by the new knights. These principally consist in defending the Christian religion at the risk of their lives ; in fighting for their country, and the king of Prussia their protector, in preference to all other sovereign princes ; in never abandoning their colours, or yielding them-

\* In German, *besser Ritter als Knecht*.



selves prisoners to a common soldier ; in protecting and assisting widows, orphans, and all distressed persons ; in never quitting the cross ; in never suffering a blow ; in loving and esteeming virtue and honour, and being particularly prudent, just, brave, sober, humble, and charitable. They are likewise enjoined, on pain of being regarded as effaced from the list of knights, to give intelligence every year, not only of their places of residence, but of their different employments.

The chancellor having finished reading, each new knight passes in order before the bailiff, who is placed at the altar, and who gives his hand to each, saying, *I wish you all prosperity, and heavenly blessings*. The commanders and knights then advance towards the newly professed, whose hands they press, in token of fraternity. The gentle tap on the cheek given to the Catholic knights, after they have received the cloak and cross, is omitted on this occasion ; neither is the vow of chastity and poverty enjoined.

The knights of the bailiwick of Brandenburg wear, by consent of the king of Prussia, a scarlet uniform, with white lapels, cuffs, and collar, and metal buttons, on which is the cross with eight points. The golden cross differs from that worn by the Catholic knights, having the Prussian eagle in the four angles of white enamel, instead of the *fleurs de lys*. The Protestant commanders have larger crosses than the other knights, and have alone the privilege of wearing a *soubreveste*.

The bailiff elected in the assembly of the chapter held at



Sonneburg takes his oath of allegiance to the king of Prussia, and acknowledges as feudal lord the elector of Saxony from the bailiwics of Friedland and Seckendorff, in Lower Lusatia, being in his dominions. The bailiff likewise swears to fulfil his engagements contracted with the grand-prior of Germany and the order of Malta. His residence is fixed at Sonneburg, a small town, with a castle and large church, between Frankfort on the Oder and Custrin. All affairs relative to the bailiwics are settled in this place, where the assemblies of the knights are likewise held. The greatest part of the estates in their dependance enjoy great privileges, such as what is termed high and low justice. There is a regency at Sonneburg, composed of a chancellor and counsellors, before whom not only the vassals of the bailiwick but the commanders are obliged to appear.

The revenue of the bailiff, who is esteemed the first prelate in the electorate of Brandenburg, is about thirty thousand crowns; and consists in the bailiwics of Sonneburg, Rampiz, Gruneberg, Collin, Friedland, and Seckendorff. The commanderies differ in value, but none among them produce an income of more than ten thousand crowns, nor any less than three thousand.



*A General STATEMENT of the COMMANDERIES in the  
Bailiwick of BRANDENBURG.*

Names of the Com- manderies.	Situation.	Origin.	Observations.
1. and 2. Lagon . New Mark .		Founded towards the end of the 13th century, and belonged to the Templars.	Divided lately into two commanderies.
3. and 4. Liezen . Middle Mark		Foundation un- known. Tem- plars.	Also lately divided into two command- eries.
5. Schievelbein . New Mark .		Exchanged for that of Quart- schen in 1540; by the mar- grave Joachim II. Quartschen was given, in 1232, by Ula- dislaus duke of Poland to the Templars.	The commander is also bailiff or Landvoigt* of the circle of Schi- velbein and Dlam- burg, for which rea- son those who have obtained a reversion- ary letter must ask the elector to be nominated to that bailiwick.
6. Werben . . Old Mark .		Founded by the margrave Al- bert, who reign- ed from 1142 to 1170.	Near this place Charles Gustavus king of Sweden took the fa- mous camp of Wer- ben, in 1631.
7. Wittersheim	{ Duchy of Min- den, in West- phalia . . . }	Bought by the baili- wic.	
8. Supplingen- burg . .	{ Duchy of Bruns- wick . . . }	Founded by the emperor Lotha- rio II. in 1130. Templars.	This commandery is al- ternatively possessed by a prince of the house of Brunswick and by a knight.

\* Prefectus.



Such are the present possessions of the bailiwick of Brandenburg, which were formerly much more considerable. Though the knights can no longer have hopes of recovering the property of which they have been deprived, they still lay claim to two commanderies, named Mizow and Nemerow, situated in Mecklenburg, and of which the dukes of that country took possession at the peace of Westphalia.

The responsions of the commanderies do not amount in the whole to more than three hundred and twenty-four golden florins, thirty of which make fifty German crowns, to be paid for each commandery to the chamber of Sonneburg.

All Catholic historians having either neglected giving any account of this dismemberment of the order, or having spoken of it in terms which nothing but the fanaticism of the times could possibly excuse, I feel happy in an opportunity of mentioning many particulars on the subject, and of acquainting the reader, contrary to the opinion generally received, that the order of Malta, though it regrets the motives which have occasioned its separation from the knights of a different religion, does not refuse them a place among its members to fight against the enemies of Jesus Christ. Pope Pius the Sixth, whose virtues struck with awe even the cruel monsters his persecutors, was of the same opinion, and approved the association of the Russian knights of the Greek church with the order of Malta. It may indeed be reasonably expected, that such an



union will be attended by the most edifying and advantageous consequences.

It would be unjust not to give due praise to the conduct which the kings of Prussia have always held towards an order from which, to all appearance, they could not reap the smallest benefit. The despotism of this military kingdom has been constantly spoken of with disapprobation, as have the methods employed by its most powerful sovereigns to amass riches; yet Frederick the Great, in the most disastrous moments of his reign, never attempted to possess himself of the wealth belonging to the bailiwick of Brandenburg. By thus respecting the rights of man, of which the first and greatest is undoubtedly that of property, he not only inspired general confidence, but gained the affection of his nobility, the firmest support of his throne. This support, and a sentiment of justice, were, in his opinion, of much more importance than the momentary relief afforded by such an usurpation.

As an able administrator, he looked forward into futurity; and was perfectly convinced, that those ministers who advised such appropriation to supply the exigence of the moment were preparing the way to the ruin of their country, and the fall of their sovereign.

The property belonging to the French clergy, estimated at a hundred millions of livres a-year, was no sooner placed in the hands of government, to cover a *deficit* of at least sixty



millions, than its credit fell; and when to these resources were added the domains themselves, together with those of the richest proprietors, it was totally annihilated, and a general bankruptcy ensued. Yet this government was in possession of the largest capital at its own disposal that ever existed; and, had a very small part of it been regularly sold, it would have been sufficient to have made up the *deficit*, and to have paid both interest and principal of all the debts.

The consequence of thus destroying the nobility, the different orders of chivalry, and all the powerful bodies, which, even while combating the power of the throne, were its principal support, became the overthrow of the sovereign himself.

Frederick the Great, when in possession of Silesia, suffered all the Catholic commanderies belonging to the order of St. John of Jerusalem to remain in that country; and this, because he very well knew, that the knights of Malta were educated in those strict principles of honour which would make them faithful subjects and worthy citizens; and because, being sovereign of a country the very existence of which depends upon the military, he felt the necessity of preserving an order which kept up the spirit of warlike enthusiasm and the ideas of glory, and called to remembrance the performance of extraordinary exploits.

The same weighty considerations which engaged Frederick to suffer the order of St. John to remain in his dominions, have likewise induced the most celebrated princes to create



orders of knighthood to strengthen their government, to keep up their grandeur, and support their weakness. If, in these present days, the chiefs of the countries in which the order possesses any property were actuated by the same sentiments, there would be no cause to apprehend that a minister could be found so basely perfidious as to propose the invading such property, or a monarch so weakly his own enemy as to give a sanction to such conduct.



## C H A P. V.

*A general Chapter; how composed; Manner of assembling it; of deliberating, and collecting Votes; Affairs treated therein; Time of its Duration. Ordinary, Complete, Secret, and Criminal Councils. Manner in which the Dignities of the Order were divided among the different Languages. Names of the Places in the Gift of the Grand-Master and Council. Election of the Grand-Master; his Revenue.*

HAVING already mentioned that the legislative power was vested in the general chapter, and the principal part of the executive entrusted to the councils, it will be now necessary to speak of their origin, composition, and functions.

In former times the general chapters were regularly held every five years, and in urgent cases were even convened once in three years; but these assemblies afterwards only met every tenth year, and there was an interval of nearly a century and a half between the last two that were held\*: the popes and grand-masters being constantly agreed in avoiding these meetings, which, as has been already observed, were both troublesome and dangerous.

The persons of whom these assemblies were composed, and the ceremonies observed on the occasion, were as follow: After hearing a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost, the grand-master entered the hall where the general chapter was held,

\* The first of these two chapters was held in 1631, during the grand-mastership of Antoine de Paule; and the second in that of the grand-master Rohan, in the year 1776.



and seated himself under a canopy, on a throne raised three steps from the ground. Those members of the chapter who filled any dignified post, and who were fifty-four in number, were placed in the following order:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. The bishop.  | 27. The grand-prior of Germany.        |
| 2. The prior of the church.                                     | 28. The grand-prior of Ireland.        |
| 3. The grand-commander.   | 29. The grand-prior of Bohemia.        |
| 4. The marshal.   | 30. The grand-prior of Hungary.        |
| 5. The hospitaller.   | 31. The bailiff of St. Euphemia.       |
| 6. The admiral.   | 32. The grand-prior of Catalonia.      |
| 7. The grand-conservator.                                       | 33. The bailiff of Negropont.          |
| 8. The grand-bailiff.   | 34. The bailiff of the Morea.          |
| 9. The grand-chancellor.  | 35. The bailiff of Venusia.            |
| 10. The grand-prior of St. Giles.                               | 36. The bailiff of St. Stephen.        |
| 11. The grand-prior of Auvergne.                                | 37. The bailiff of Majorca.            |
| 12. The grand-prior of France.                                  | 38. The bailiff of St. John of Naples. |
| 13. The grand-prior of Aquitaine.                               | 39. The bailiff of Lyons.              |
| 14. The grand-prior of Champagne.                               | 40. The bailiff of Manosque.           |
| 15. The grand-prior of Toulouse.                                | 41. The bailiff of Brandenburg.        |
| 16. The grand-prior of Rome.                                    | 42. The bailiff of Caspa.              |
| 17. The grand-prior of Lombardy.                                | 43. The bailiff of Lora.               |
| 18. The grand-prior of Venice.                                  | 44. The bailiff of Aquila.             |
| 19. The grand-prior of Pisa.                                    | 45. The bailiff of Lango and Loza.     |
| 20. The grand-prior of Barletto.                                | 46. The bailiff of St. Sepulchre.      |
| 21. The grand-prior of Messina.                                 | 47. The bailiff of Cremona.            |
| 22. The grand-prior of Capua.                                   | 48. The grand-treasurer.               |
| 23. The castellan of Emposta, or the<br>grand-prior of Arragon. | 49. The bailiff of Neuvillas.          |
| 24. The grand-prior of Crato, or of<br>Portugal.                | 50. The bailiff of Acre.               |
| 25. The grand-prior of England.                                 | 51. The bailiff of La Rocella.         |
| 26. The grand-prior of Navarre.                                 | 52. The bailiff of Armenia.            |
|   | 53. The bailiff of Carlstad.           |
|   | 54. The bailiff of St. Sebastian.      |

The second day of this assembly three commanders of three different languages were elected according to the ma-



jority of votes, by the members of the chapter, to examine the proxies who acted for the absent languages, priories, priors, and bailiffs. If their procuration was in due form, they were permitted to vote; if not, they were excluded from the assembly. When the number of the members of the chapter was once fixed, every one, according to his official rank and to that of his language, presented a purse containing five pieces of silver, and this he gave as *a tribute of homage*. The marshal, from the same principle, delivered up the grand standard, and the most distinguished officers the ensigns of their different dignities. These were not returned till the chapter had passed a fresh grant for that purpose. This custom, which cannot be too much admired, had been established from time immemorial in the order of Malta.

Three commissaries of different nations were chosen at the same time to receive all petitions during the first three days of the assembly, and these were either granted or rejected by the general chapter; but, as the great number of members of which it was composed would have made it very tedious to have examined particularly into every different subject, a committee of sixteen members, who were all commanders, was appointed to decide on the occasion. Two of these commanders were named by each of the eight languages; and after being elected in due form, they made oath before the grand-master, who, with the other members of the chapter, likewise swore to adopt and ratify all their determinations.



This committee withdrew to a separate apartment to deliberate on the different affairs to be brought before the chapter; but, lest these sixteen commanders should not be sufficiently acquainted with the real interests of the order, and perhaps from the idea that resolutions might be taken contrary to the grand-master's wishes, his solicitor, with the vice-chancellor and secretary of the treasury, were admitted into this private assembly, though without the privilege of voting; the sixteen alone having the right of regulating, ordaining, and judging definitively (without appeal) of all affairs referred to them by the general chapter. These great assemblies never lasted more than a fortnight, and if at the expiration of that time any business remained unsettled, it was left to be determined by other commissaries, who were termed the *council of reservation*.

Independently of this occasional council, there were always four others in Malta, which supplied the place of the general chapter, viz. the common, the complete, the secret, and the criminal councils.

The common council consisted of the grand-master, the conventual bailiffs, the knights dignified with the grand cross residing at the time in Malta, and the proxies of the different languages. All disputes relative to receptions, pensions, commanderies, dignities, and other subjects arising from bulls granted by the order, were decided in this council, which differed very little from the complete one, except indeed that in the latter two ancient knights were added from each language,



who, to entitle them to be admitted into the assembly, must have resided at least five years in the convent. Appeals were made to this council from the common and the criminal ones, and it was only of late years that the custom of appealing to Rome was first introduced ; but it soon became so common, that in default of a general chapter, affairs of all kinds were carried before that court, which alone gave dispensations, made knights of minority, knights, bailiffs, and grand crosses, by favour. It was indeed much to be apprehended, that bestowing dignities with so lavish a hand on particular persons, would in the end have ruined the whole body of the order.

The secret council took cognizance of all state affairs, together with extraordinary and unexpected cases, which required an immediate decision. Any serious cause of complaint against either a knight or a brother was brought before this council, at which the grand-master or his lieutenant always presided. The former had the sole right of proposing the subjects of debate ; he had likewise the privilege of giving two votes, and when the number was equal, his vote was the casting one.

There was also another council, usually called the venerable chamber of the treasury, and which, in fact, was the exchequer of the order.

Before the conventual and capitular dignities were appropriated to, and divided between, the languages, the general chapter, as has been observed in another part of this history,



bestowed them on the worthiest members of the community, without regarding any particular nation. But since the year 1466 these posts have been attached to the different languages, and the *pilliers*, or conventual bailiffs, have had a right to claim the first vacant dignity. For instance, in the language of Provence, the grand-commander might demand either the grand-priory of St. Giles, that of Toulouse, or the bailiwick of Manosque. The grand-marshal in the language of Auvergne might likewise lay claim to the grand-priory of the same name, or to the bailiwick of Lyons; but if once he was named to one of these titles, he could not afterwards apply for another.

Though the commanderies in the language of France were particularly annexed to each priory, yet still the great dignities appropriated to that language were bestowed indiscriminately on all the knights of the three priories belonging to the same nation; so that, independently of these priories, seniority alone decided in favour of the knights of the French language of the three grand-priories of France, Aquitaine, and Champagne; and according to that seniority they were named to the bailiwick of the Morea held in Paris, to that of St. John de Lateran, and to the treasurership which was united to the priory of Corbeil.

The dignities and commanderies were in common in the language of Italy.

The language of Arragon was composed not only of knights of that kingdom, but of those from Catalonia and Na-



varre. If the grand-conservator happened to be either an Arragonian or a native of Valencia, he had a right to the castellany of Emposta, otherwise called the grand-priory of Arragon.

The bailiwick of Majorca was bestowed indiscriminately on the inhabitants of that island, or on the Catalonians; and the bailiwick of Caspa on the Arragonians and Valencians. From this dignity the professor was named for the castellany of Emposta.

The title of the bailiwick of Negropont, at present *in partibus* and possessed by the Turks, was alternatively given to the languages of Arragon and Castille. This might be quitted to become chief of the inn, and also by the mutation of the same bailiwick.

The dignity of grand-bailiff belonged indiscriminately to the German and Bohemian knights. This gave a right to the grand-priory of Germany, which was of more ancient date in the order than the grand-bailiwick.

The chancellor might have been named grand-prior of Castille, and in that case he became a grandee of Spain. The grand-priory of Crato was in Portugal; but the grand-chancellor could not be appointed to it, lest he should offend the king of Portugal, who pretended that the patronage of that dignity belonged to his crown.

The grand-commander, who was *pillier* of the language of Provence, might formerly have held the grand-priory of Hun-



gary. Some time afterwards it became the privilege of the admiral, who, for the time being, was pillar of the Italian language; but, in consequence of the abdication of the Italians in 1603, this dignity became the property of the language of Germany, and was bestowed in common on the knights of that country, and on those of Bohemia.

Though the provinces of Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia, were formerly the ancient *Duci*, the order of St. John gave the name of *Duci*, in the language of the middle age, to the kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway.

In the History of the Knights of Rhodes, mention is made, that the grand-master de Gozon (Deodato) wrote into these provinces to order responsions to be sent from thence; and that in 1464 visitors were sent thither to keep up a proper degree of regular and military discipline.

Independently of the dignified offices to which the members of the order were elevated in the above-mentioned manner, there were other posts and employments which we shall proceed to enumerate, together with the persons who nominated to them.

The grand-master had a right to appoint his own lieutenant, and after having named him, he acquainted the council with his choice, though neither its approbation nor consent was requisite on the occasion. He likewise named the senechal of his household, who, on entering this office, received a brief from the pope, to enable him to enjoy it for life.



The vice-chancellor was appointed by the grand-chancellor, the secretary of the treasury by the grand-master, and the master equerry by the grand-marshal. The grant of each of these three posts was confirmed by the complete council, and was for life.

The following officers were chosen by the grand-master :

The *cavalerizze*, or master of the horse.  
 The receiver of the grand-master's revenue.  
 The steward of the household.  
 The grand-master's solicitor of the treasury.  
 The grand-chamberlain.  
 The deputy-steward of the household.  
 The *sub-cavalerizze*, or first gentleman of the horse.  
 The falconer.  
 The captain of the guards.  
 Three auditors.  
 The almoner and four chaplains.  
 Four chamberlains.  
 Four secretaries, for the Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish languages.  
 The secretary, or intendant of the revenues of the principality.  
 The *credencier*, or clerk of the kitchen.  
 The *garde-manger*, or keeper of the pantry.  
 The keeper of the wardrobe.

#### COUNSELLORS *of the* COMPLETE COUNCIL.

Fourteen counsellors taken from seven  
 of the languages . . . . . } named by the languages, and ap-  
 Eight auditors of the treasury accounts } proved by the council.

Two solicitors of the treasury, both of whom were knights, with the grand cross. They were named by the grand-master, and approved by the council.

The conventual conservator, already mentioned in the article of conventual bailiffs.



- The controller of the conservatory, in the gift of the grand-master and council.  
 The castellan of the castellany. This office commenced on the 1st of May, and continued two years.  
 Two solicitors for the prisoners, the poor, the widows and orphans; one of whom was a knight, and the other a priest, who was either a chaplain or a brother of obedience.  
 The protector of the monastery of St. Ursula } a grand cross.  
 Two *prud'hommes*, or controllers of the church } a grand cross and a knight.  
 Three commissaries for the poor beggars. grand crosses.  
 Two commissaries for dispensing alms. a grand cross and a knight.  
 Two commissaries for sick poor women. knights.  
 Two protectors of the catechumens and the new convents } a grand cross and a knight.  
 Three commissaries of redemption, in the gift of the grand-master } a grand cross and two knights.  
 The overseer of the infirmary. } a knight of the language of France, in the presentation of the grand-hospitaller.  
 The prior and sub-prior of the infirmary } appointed by the grand-hospitaller.  
 The scribe } Approved by the grand-master and council.  
 The *armourier*, or press keeper }  
 Two *prud'hommes*, or controllers of the infirmary } two knights named by the grand-master, and approved by the council.  
 Four commissaries of war and fortifications } four grand crosses from the four nations of France, Spain, Italy, and Germany.  
 Four commissaries of the congregation of galleys } four knights of the four nations.  
 Two commissaries for regulating the caravans } grand crosses.  
 Four commissaries for naval armaments. three grand crosses and a knight.  
 A president and four commissaries for the congregation of vessels belonging to the four nations } a grand cross and four knights.



Two commissioners of the chest for the flags . . . . .	} a grand cross and a knight.
Three commissioners for the novices in the different languages . . . . .	} a grand cross and two knights.
Two commissioners for the effects of the deceased . . . . .	} knights.
Two commissioners for the slaves' prison .	knights.
The governor of the slaves' prison :	{ a serving brother, appointed by the grand-master.
Two commissioners of the mint . . .	. grand crosses.
Four commissioners of the nobles . . .	. four knights of the four nations.
Three commissioners of agreements .	. knights.
The governor of the store-houses .	{ a knight named by the grand-commander.
Two prud'hommes, or controllers of the stores . . . . .	} knights.
Two commissioners of houses . . .	. knights.
Two commissioners of health . . .	{ knights: but when infectious distempers were apprehended, four grand crosses were joined in the office.
The commander of the artillery .	{ a knight, appointed by the grand-commander.
Two controllers of the artillery . . .	. knights.
Two commissioners of the soldiery .	{ knights named by the grand-master.
The fiscal or attorney . . . . .	. generally a brother of obedience.
The deputy master equerry . . .	{ a serving brother, appointed by the grand-master, who acquainted the council with his nomination.
The porter of La Valetta . . .	{ a serving brother, in the gift of the grand-master.
The governor of the arsenal . . .	{ a knight named by the grand-commander.
The controller of the arsenal . . .	. a knight presented by the admiral.
The vestry keeper . . . . .	{ brother chaplains appointed by the grand-commander.
The keeper of the candles for St. John's church : . . . .	
The belfrey keeper . . . . .	



The general of the galley, who made choice of the admiral's galley, and presented it to the council.  
A captain and patron for each galley.  
The *reveditor*, or inspector of the galleys.  
The commodore of the men-of-war.  
A captain to each ship, with several subaltern officers.  
The *proveditor* of the men-of-war.

GOVERNORS

Of Goza . . . . .	} governments in the gift of the grand-master.
St. Angelo . . . . .	
St Elmo . . . . .	
Ricasoli . . . . .	
the Town . . . . .	
the isle of La Sangle . . . . .	
The captains of the city La Valetta	} in the gift of the grand-master.
The seven captains of the hamlets or villages . . . . .	
The captain of the Boschetto . . . . .	
	} a serving brother
The three judges of appeals, criminal and civil causes . . . . .	} lawyers and doctors of the civil law, named by the council.

*Dignified Offices without the Convent.*

The order always sent ambassadors to the four following courts:

Rome, . . . . .	} those to France and Spain were knights wearing the grand cross; but knights with only the little cross were frequently sent to Rome. These embassies were for three years, but that time was often prolonged.
Vienna, . . . . .	
Paris, and . . . . .	
Madrid . . . . .	
A receiver for each priory	} these were changed every three years, and presented to the council by the treasury.
A solicitor for each priory	
	} presented and changed in the same manner as the receivers.

The grand-master was the *general* patron of all the above-mentioned offices, the *particular* ones of which have not been named. This prince, however, was obliged to acquaint the council with his choice, and that assembly had the right of admission or rejection.



The above were nearly all the dignities and employments which the order had to bestow; and the grand-mastership was the highest degree of eminence to which a knight of justice could possibly pretend. The ceremony of his election, and the amount of his revenue, were as follow :—

Immediately after the death of a grand-master, the seal of his office was broken by order of council, and a lieutenant appointed to act as chief of the knights, who, jointly with the council, managed the affairs of government, but without the privilege of making grants, bestowing favours, or receiving any benefit from the revenue of the grand-mastership.

The corpse of the deceased was carried on the second day after his death into the great hall of the palace, and placed on a catafalque. To the right was a table covered with black cloth, on which was laid a complete suit of armour, and his remains were interred the same evening with great funeral pomp. Whilst the grand-mastership continued vacant, the conventual conservator was suspended from his office, and the same day three knights of different nations were appointed to receive whatsoever sums were owing to the treasury from the knights who purposed voting at the election. A list was then made of all who were competent to give in their votes, and this was fixed on the door of the church of St. John, together with the names of such knights as, remaining still in debt to the treasury, were incapacitated from voting for the time.

No one was entitled to vote at the election of a grand-



master unless he had been received as knight of justice, was arrived at the age of eighteen years, had resided three years in the convent, made three caravans, and was not indebted more than ten crowns to the common treasury. Though the brother chaplains (provided they were priests), and the serving brothers of arms, were permitted to give their votes in the different languages into which they had been received, this circumstance did not entitle them in future to the smallest share in the government; but the Maltese who, in virtue of a particular dispensation from the pope, had been received into any of the languages, were not allowed to vote on this occasion, and still less to be candidates for such dignity. This general exclusion was probably intended to prevent the ill consequences of having a Maltese grand-master, who would most likely have been tempted to make every effort to place the sovereignty of the island permanently in the hands of his countrymen.

The third day after the grand-master's decease was always fixed upon for proceeding to the election of his successor; and this important affair was never delayed for a greater length of time, to prevent all canvassing and caballing, and also to avoid some certain pretensions of the court of Rome, where it was an established maxim, that whilst this post remained vacant the pope had a right to prevent the nomination of any particular grand-master: it was therefore on the third day that, after the celebration of a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost in the church of St. John, the whole convent assembled in that place.



The eight languages which composed the body of the order retired into their respective chapels, except, indeed, that from which the lieutenant of the mastership had been chosen, which remained in the nave of the church. Each of these languages named three electors from among the knights, who were to vote for the whole: consequently the number amounted to twenty-four.

The members of the order, assembled in their different chapels, wrote down, according to seniority, the name of the knight whom they had chosen first or chief of three electors in their language; and, to prove that he was properly elected, they were obliged to sign their own names at the bottom of the ticket, and seal it with the signet of their language.

When those who were entitled to votes in a language had given them in the above-mentioned manner, the solicitor took the billets or tickets, and counted them over in the presence of the whole language. This was done to examine whether their number agreed with that of the votes; if not, they were immediately burned, and fresh ones taken till there were exactly as many billets as voters. If, on the contrary, every thing was found to be in due order, the solicitor and the seniors of the language opened the billets at the place where the first elector's name was written: after which, the votes in favour of the other knights competitors for this distinction were counted; and if not one among them had a clear quarter part of the ballots of his language, the voting was begun again, and con-



tinued till one of the knights was found to be properly qualified. The knight thus chosen then took the oath ordained in the statutes to the lieutenant of the mastership, and went into the conclave. The balloting for the two other electors next took place, and they were likewise chosen by the majority of votes: it, however, generally happened that all the three electors were named at the first ballot.

A clear quarter part of the votes in a language implied a number which was rather more than a fourth part of the members who composed the said language; or, in other words, which was not contained four times in the number of voters. The clear quarter part of nine was therefore three; of thirteen, four; and of seventeen, five, &c. Whenever the votes happened to equal the clear quarter part, the senior carried it, and the three electors proceeded to take their seats as such in the conclave. Should the lieutenant of the mastership be chosen by his language for one of the above-mentioned electors, the council of state immediately named another to supply his place, that the government might not remain a moment without a proper superior.

The electors of the respective languages then assembled in the conclave to the number of twenty-four, who were all knights of justice or grand-crosses: the bishop of Malta and the prior of the church were indeed allowed to be of the number, the dignity of their different offices being admitted, in their particular case, as an equivalent for noble extraction.—



The twenty-four electors having taken the oaths to the lieutenant of the mastership, chose a president for the election, and this nomination abolished the office of lieutenant. The *triumvirate* was afterwards chosen; consisting of a knight, a chaplain (who was a priest), and a serving brother, whom the original twenty-four electors invested with the power of election, and then retired from the conclave.

The triumvirate, after having taken the oaths, went into the chamber of the conclave, and made choice between themselves of a fourth elector, who, joined with the other three, elected a fifth, and so on till they had chosen thirteen, who with the three original ones made altogether sixteen in number, that is, two for each language. The pre-eminence of the languages was not attended to in the choice of the triumvirate, and the first five electors chosen by it; but that was not the case with regard to the other eight, who were nominated according to the rank of their respective languages.

If the triumvirate disagreed in the choice of the fourth elector, and came to no determination before one hour was elapsed, they were each obliged to name one person; and these three were balloted for by the first twenty-four electors, who made their scrutiny in the vestry on this occasion, when the choice was determined in favour of him who had the majority of votes; but if the votes were equal, the senior knight was elected. The thirteen new electors took the usual oath to the president of the election, each in his turn, and were afterwards



joined to the triumvirate; when one or more candidates were balloted for among themselves, and he who had the majority was elected grand-master; but when the votes were equally divided, the knight of the election had the casting vote. Strange as this extraordinary mode of proceeding may appear to the reader, the knights had certainly great reason to adopt it, since this continual change of electors prevented any private measures which might have been taken by different persons on so important an occasion, the election entirely depending on the choice of those who were indebted to chance alone for the power of voting. All cabals and intrigues were thus rendered entirely useless, and this noble republic had an opportunity of gratifying all the members of the order, each of whom flattered himself with having had a particular share in the election of the grand-master.

The ballot being over, the triumvirate quitted the last thirteen electors, and went towards the balustrade of the gallery of the great door, where the knight of the election, having the chaplain on his right and the serving brother on his left, demanded three times of the members of the order assembled in the church whether they were disposed to ratify the election of the grand-master who had just been chosen; and on the whole assembly declaring its approbation, the knight of the election proclaimed the grand-master in a loud voice \*.

\* At the election of a doge of Venice, all the nobles who had passed the age of thirty years assembled in St. Mark's Place, and put as many balls into a vase as there were noblemen present. Thirty of these balls were gilt, and those to whose lot they fell put in nine of the



If the newly-elected prince happened to be present, he immediately took his place under the canopy, and having taken the oaths to the prior of the church, *Te Deum* was sung; after which he received homage from all the members of the order, and was carried in triumph to his palace. The treasury, on the following day, presented three crowns to each member of the order, whether novices or professed. This was done to prevent the grand-master's house from being pillaged; and a day or two afterwards, the complete council put him in possession of the sovereignty of Malta and Goza. He therefore had not only a military and regular superiority over all the members of his order, but sovereign power and all regal rights over his subjects, the laity: this power was, however, in some degree restricted.

In former times the revenue of the grand-master was very inconsiderable, but it has since been sufficiently encreased to enable him to support his princely dignity in a proper manner. This revenue might properly be divided into two parts, the one arising from the principality, and the other the income annexed to the grand-mastership.

gilded ones among twenty-one white balls; and this they did in the presence of the state. The nine nobles who drew the gilded balls chose forty others, all of different families, but they were allowed to name themselves of the number. These forty were again reduced by lot to twelve, who chose twenty-five, the first among them naming three, and each of the others two. The twenty-five again drew lots, and were reduced to nine. These named five each, making in the whole forty-five, who cast lots once more, and were reduced to eleven, who, in the last place, made choice of forty-one, and these elected the doge; that is, if their election was confirmed by the great council, otherwise the whole ceremony began anew, and continued till forty-one more were elected.



The first consisted of custom-house duties, amounting to nearly a hundred thousand Maltese crowns, of assizes, duties on salt, title deeds of demesnes, farms, houses, gardens, and fines for alienation, making altogether another hundred thousand crowns; duties paid by the admiralty at the rate of ten per cent on all prizes, mulcts, and confiscations; the whole amounting to about two hundred thousand crowns.

The second consisted of six thousand crowns annually paid by the treasury for the support of the grand-master's table, with two hundred for keeping his palace and country-house in proper repair: a very moderate sum in proportion to the dignity of his office, but it serves to shew the economy and sobriety of the time when such regulations were made.

The grand-master received an annat for all the commanderies by favour, which the different princes bestowed once in five years. He had also the perpetual enjoyment of a commandery in every priory. This was called the magisterial chamber, from being annexed to the mastership, and he had the privilege of appointing a person to govern it in his name. The choice of the governor being left entirely to the prince, it sometimes happened that it was bestowed on a novice.

Whenever the grand-master appointed a knight to one of these commanderies, he not only received two annates, but was likewise at liberty to reserve a pension for himself; the knight, however, was dispensed from paying either the mortuary or vacancy fees.



The whole amount of the grand-master's revenue, according to the above calculation, might be estimated in general at rather above four hundred thousand crowns, making about forty thousand pounds sterling.

The tiles given by the kings of England and France to the grand-master have been already mentioned, as well as those bestowed on the order. The following is that given him in all public acts.

*Dei Gratia, Domus Hospitalis Sancti Joannis Hierosolimitani, Militaris Ordinis Sancti Sepulcri Dominici, et Ordinis Sancti Antonii Viennensis Magister Humilis, Pauperumque Jesu Christi Custos.*

Letters were addressed to the grand-master in the following terms: *Alla Sua Altezza Eminentissima il Gran-Maestro Fra. N.*

All the acts passed in the convent styled him *Eminentissimo e reverendissimo Signor Gran-Maestro, Fra. N.*



*LIST of the MAGISTERIAL COMMANDERIES which formed a  
Part of the GRAND-MASTER'S Revenue.*

Names of the Languages.	Priories.	Commanderies.
Provence . .	{ St. Giles . . . . .	Pernas.
	{ Toulouse . . . . .	Puysubran.
Auvergne . .	. . Auvergne . . . . .	De Salins.
France . . .	{ Priory of France . . .	{ Hainault.
	{ Champagne . . . . .	{ Picton.
	{ Aquitaine . . . . .	Metz.
		Temple of La Rochelle.
Italy . . . .	{ Lombardy . . . . .	Inverno.
	{ Rome . . . . .	Mugnano.
	{ Venice . . . . .	Treviso.
	{ Pisa . . . . .	Prato.
	{ Capua . . . . .	Ciciano.
	{ Barletta . . . . .	{ Brindisi.
	{ Messina . . . . .	{ Maruggio.
		Politizzi.
Arragon . . .	{ Castellan d'Emposta .	Aliaga.
	{ Catalonia . . . . .	Masden.
	{ Navarre . . . . .	Galchelas.
England . . .	{ England . . . . .	Pescens.
	{ Ireland . . . . .	
Germany . . .	{ Germany . . . . .	Buez.
	{ Bohemia . . . . .	Wladislavia.
Castille . . .	{ Castille . . . . .	D'Olmos & del Viso.
	{ Portugal, or Crato . .	Villacova.



## C H A P. VI.

*On the Finances of the Order. General Observations on the Science of Finance. Meaning of Deficit. Origin of Loans. Venerable Chamber of the common Treasury; in what Manner composed; its Functions; Arrangement of the Accounts; general Receipt; Explanation of the Articles which compose it. The annual Produce, on an Average of ten Years. Contingent of each Language. Income of different Foundations fallen into the Treasury; their Amount, and how employed. Explanation of the Articles which form the general Expences of the Order; their annual Amount, on an Average of ten Years. A Comparison between the Balance of the Treasury in April, 1779, and April, 1789. A Table of Receipts and Expences.*

THE science of finance was never carried to so high a point of perfection, nor studied with so much attention, as in the last century. The expences of all the different powers exceeding their revenues, it was necessary to devise some method to supply the void in the sovereign's coffers. This void is termed *deficit*; and those ministers who were most skilled in the art of procuring money were regarded as the most able, and the only ones, indeed, whom a prince was desirous of retaining in his service. This necessity gave rise to what is called the *science of finance*; the knowledge of which raises a nation to the height of glory, while ignorance of it plunges it into an abyss of misery.

Such repeated want of money made it necessary to borrow, by way of loan; consequently, to establish a certain degree of



credit: whence arose the obligation of giving in accounts, and the estimation in which a government was held by the other European powers.

Since, then, in the present order of things, the real solidity of a state can only be judged of by a knowledge of its finances, I may surely be excused for giving the following particulars relative to those of Malta, since they cannot fail of impressing the reader with a most favourable idea of the wisdom of the administration and the excellence of the government.

The venerable chamber of the treasury might justly be considered as the general office for the finances of the order, since every thing relative to the receipts and expences of the government was considered in that meeting. The administrators frequently published a statement of the accounts, and the balance resulting. The table of the revenues which composed it, together with the manner of employing them, will sufficiently prove that the affairs of Malta were as complicated as those of the most powerful governments.

The property of the order being dispersed throughout the different Catholic countries in Europe, made the exact estimation and collection of the revenues difficult and embarrassing. It was therefore absolutely necessary to have separate coffers, and every priory had one for its own particular use. The money deposited therein was afterwards removed to others established in twenty-nine towns, selected for that purpose on



account of their commodious situation. Those who were charged with the management of these coffers were termed *receivers*, and the money paid in was called *receipts*. The treasury, having no other means of receiving this money but by bills of exchange, was under the necessity of acting as a general banker. This bank had a correspondence which extended from Cadiz to Warsaw, and even of late to Petersburg. The exchange varied so frequently, that an exact statement of the receipt and expenditure was often attended with much difficulty.

Most of the articles in which the finances of Malta consisted having preserved their ancient names, which were peculiar to the order alone, I have explained every particular in such a manner as to give a clear and exact idea of the whole. But I think it necessary, in the first place, to make the reader acquainted with the composition and functions of the different chambers or offices which formed the general administration of the treasury of the order.

The venerable chamber of the common treasury, properly so called, was composed of a president, three procurators (one of whom was for the grand-master), the conventual conservator, two auditors of accounts, and two secretaries. A commission of four knights, decorated with the grand cross, was added on particular occasions. When this assembly took the name of accountant's-office, the grand-treasurer and an auditor of ac-



counts from each language were joined to the above-mentioned members.

This accountant's office was likewise erected into a tribunal of justice: and at these times two lawyers were allowed to plead; the one for the office, and the other for the parties concerned.

The grand-commander, or, in his absence, his lieutenant, was perpetual president, in right of his office, of the common treasury, together with all the chambers and commissions appertaining thereto. This first dignity in the order had great prerogatives, among which, the most important was the power of breaking up the sittings in which he presided. If the subject treated in the chamber of the treasury met with his disapprobation, he needed only retire, to stop all further deliberation. His lieutenant, when he acted for him, enjoyed the same privileges.

The two procurators were placed next the president, and were always grand crosses of different nations, named by the grand-master and council for the space of five years, after which it was necessary that they should be confirmed in their office a second time. Only one of the procurators was changed, because it was necessary to retain a person perfectly acquainted with the course of affairs. The grand-master's procurator came next: he too was generally a grand cross, and chosen by the superior, who presented him to the council,



which had the right of acceptance or refusal. Its approbation, indeed, was equally necessary for him as for the others; though his principal office was to attend, in behalf of the grand-master, to the distribution of the revenue, with which, in his capacity, it was greatly his interest to be perfectly well acquainted. The conventual conservator preceded the grand-master's procurator: he had a vote in all the different chambers, and was chief of the conservatory, in which all the money and valuable effects in the treasury were kept. This office was triennial, and all the languages were equally competent to the holding it. The conventual conservators paid all the drafts granted by the chamber of the treasury, which of itself could not give out an assignment for more than the value of five hundred Maltese crowns. Whenever there was question of a more considerable sum, recourse was had to the council, which expedited the affair in the court of chancery.

The conservator gave in his accounts to the treasury every three months, and produced a register with the assignments for all the different payments he had made. Every thing of this sort being dispatched in the chamber of the treasury and entered in a book, the proof was easy. The moment an assignment was compared with the account taken in the above-mentioned book, and found just, it was torn in half, filed in proper order, and remained as a voucher.

The two auditors of accounts were chosen by lot from among those appointed by each language to assist in the ac-



counts of the treasury, and it was necessary they should be of different nations. They had each a vote, and might be regarded as inspectors for all the languages of every thing which passed in the chamber.

The secretary of the treasury was, properly speaking, only a first clerk; his office was, however, a very important one, and required great exactness. This place was in the nomination of the grand-master and council: it might be bestowed on a Maltese, and no person could be dismissed from this office without either being brought to trial or appointed to another place, of which he had the choice. He had only a consulting vote in the different chambers of the treasury: his office consisted in balancing and concluding the accounts, in presence of the two auditors; in giving, and seeing to the payment of, all bills of exchange; in short, in attending to all affairs relative to the management and security of the finances.

There were some occasions when a commission of four grand-crosses might be added to the usual members of the chamber: for instance, when there was question of economy, or of making reforms in financial affairs. These grand-crosses were always of different nations, and only named for a limited time, which was fixed by the grand-master and council. The grand commander constantly presided in this commission.

The grand treasurer, or his lieutenant, had the right of being present when the accounts were given in to the common treasury: formerly, indeed, he was always included in the



number of conventual bailiffs, and the coffers of the order were entrusted to his care ; but this function having been afterwards transferred to the conventual conservator, and the bailiwick being annexed to the language of Germany, the charge of grand-treasurer remained a capitular bailiwick attached to the French language. The grand-treasurer took his seat in the accountant's office according to his rank as grand-cross, though always after the grand commander.

Every different language made choice of an auditor of accounts ; and having named one to that office, immediately appointed another to supply his place in case of necessity. These auditors were obliged to be presented by the languages to the council, which had the right of refusing them, an event however which scarcely ever happened ; but if it did, the language to which the auditor belonged was under the necessity of making another choice. If they were appointed by the council, they instantly took the requisite oaths before the grand-master. The most ancient of these auditors, viz. he who belonged to the language of Provence, assembled his colleagues every year, and they drew lots for the particular functions they were to exercise. Two of the number, as has been already observed, were attached to the service of the ordinary chamber, and the others to the storehouses, to revising the accounts, &c. &c. ; but two of the same nation were not permitted to act together.

All the members of the order, charged with the manage-



ment of any part of the finances, of whatsoever nature, were under the control of the venerable chamber of the treasury, to which they were obliged to give in their accounts.

Whenever this chamber was employed as a hall of justice, two languages were admitted; the one on the side of the chamber, and the other on that of the parties concerned. These entered into the merits of the cause, in presence of the whole assembly of members; and answered whatsoever questions any individual chose to put to them. They afterwards retired, the tribunal deliberated on the affair, and passed sentence accordingly. The parties were at liberty to appeal to the ordinary council of the order, and afterwards to the complete council.

Every priory had a receiver's office, and a separate receiver appointed by the grand-master and council, who acted immediately under the orders of the chamber of the treasury, with which he corresponded, at least every month; when he sent a statement of the receipts and expenditures of the said month, and a general account was taken at the end of each year. This was revised by the secretary of the treasury, who likewise presented it to the accountant's office, but not till it had been verified by four commissioners, when the said office admitted or rejected it at pleasure.

Nothing could possibly be more admirable than the attention paid to prevent the abuses which generally creep into the administration of the finances, in almost all governments;



but here the superior had only one representative, and even he could not be admitted without the approbation of the council.

The different languages had likewise theirs, and no more than one member of each nation was ever admitted into a private commission. No person could of himself dispose of a single farthing, and even the drafts given out by the chamber of the treasury were limited, and might not exceed the trifling sum of five hundred crowns.

The following tables of the receipts and expenditure of the order, during the course of ten years, will clearly prove that the skill displayed in the administration of the finances, to prevent the public money being improperly distributed or wasted, was equally great in discovering the proper methods to be employed, and in making a just and prudent subdivision of the whole.



TABLE I.

GENERAL RECEIPT.

ARTICLE I.

Annual Receipt, on an average of ten years, from 1779 to 1788, inclusive:			
Maltese Money.		English Money.	
Crowns.	T. G.	£.	s. d.

*Responsions.*

THESE were a general tax assessed upon all the dignities and commanderies of the order. This appears to have been first levied towards the thirteenth century, and has since varied according to circumstances. The order, in a general chapter, had the power of compelling the commanders to pay into the common treasury the quarter, and even the half, of their income, and this at pleasure: it had likewise the sole authority both to impose and to regulate these taxes.

The last responsions paid in the last general chapter, held in 1775, ought to have amounted to the sum of 500,000 crowns\*; but on a representation being made by the German language, a diminution was granted, and reduced the responsions to 467,757 . . . . .

475,207 4 6      47,520 14 8½

This tax was afterwards encreased by the restitution of the priory in Poland, and the creation of that in Bavaria.

The responsions from Poland were received for the first time in 1782, and produced 6000 crowns

\* A Maltese crown contains twelve tarins and twenty Maltese grains. A crown is worth two English shillings, and a tarin two pence.



Annual Receipt, on an average of ten years,  
from 1779 to 1788.

a-year. They might indeed afterwards have been encreased to 7,500.

Those from Bavaria, which during the lives of the first commanderies were only to pay 2½ per cent for each commandery, would immediately after their deaths have paid at the rate of 10 per cent, which would have brought in a sum of 15,170 crowns.

Maltese Money.			English Money.		
Crowns.	T.	G.	£.	s.	d.

ARTICLE II.

*Mortuary and Vacancy.*

The revenue of all vacant commanderies belonged to the treasury from the moment of the commander's decease to the 1st of May following\*, and this was termed *the year of the mortuary*. Likewise the whole of the next twelvemonth, called *the year of the vacancy*. For some time past the revenue of two years was constantly paid in. This duty was first established towards the middle of the fourteenth century.

. . . . . 214,721 9 9 . 21,472 3 7

ARTICLE III.

*Passage.*

The passage was a fee paid to the treasury by all those who were admitted into the order.

It was of two kinds, viz. *the minority passage*, and *the majority passage*. The first was paid by those who entered the order in their infant years, and took rise originally in the year 1631. This fee was fixed at 360 Spanish pistoles for the knights, and 288 both for conventual chaplains

\* The year was reckoned by the treasury to commence always on the 1st of May; it consequently ended on the following 30th of April.



Annual Receipt, on an average of ten years,  
from 1779 to 1788.

Maltese Money.			English Money.		
Crowns.	T.	G.	£.	s.	d.

and serving brothers of arms. The Spanish pistole is valued at the rate of eight crowns five grains Maltese money.

There were two *majority passages*, the fees of which were equal. The first was that of the pages, who entered at twelve years old as page to the grand-master, and quitted that service at fifteen. The second was what might properly be termed majority passage, and included all knights received after the age of sixteen. The fees were 125 pistoles; 100 for the chaplains, 115 for the servants of arms, and 33 for the donats or brothers, who were usually employed in the service of the inns. . . . .

203,344 8 8 . 20,334 9 4

ARTICLE IV.

*Spoils.*

The spoils consisted in the produce of all the effects of a professed knight at his decease, with the exception indeed of the *quint* or fifth part, which, with the permission of the grand-master, he was at liberty to dispose of at pleasure. . . .

247,55 0 11 . 24,755 0 0

ARTICLE V.

*Priory Annates.*

Each grand-priory having the privilege of naming to a commandery every five years, the knights who were appointed to this dignity paid the first year's revenue of their commanderies into the treasury; and this was termed *priory annat*. . . . .

4,774 8 8 . 477 9 4



Annual Receipt, on an average of ten years,  
from 1779 to 1788.

Maltese Money.			English Money.		
Crowns.	T.	G.	£.	s.	d.

ARTICLE VI.

*Priory Presents.*

The statutes ordained that each priory should present an offering to the conventual church of St. John once during the time it was held by the same person. This present was fixed at fifty Spanish pistoles from the priories of the first order, and forty from the second, and might be paid either in kind or in specie. Most of them preferred the latter method, by which means the church was deprived of the advantage of these offerings, and the money paid into the coffers of the treasury.

503 2 15 . 50 6 5

ARTICLE VII.

*Presents.*

All gifts paid into the treasury at different times by the knights were comprised in this article.

1,465 8 1 . 146 11 4

ARTICLE VIII.

*Timber.*

All the forest trees of a large size in the different commanderies of the order belonged to the treasury ; and the revenue of this article consisted in the sale of such timber, which was almost entirely cut down in the commanderies situated in France. This resource was formerly very considerable, but was beginning to fail for some years past.

47,982 11 3 . 4,798 5 11

ARTICLE IX.

*Renounced Pensions.*

All pensions being subject to the mortuary and vacancy duties of the commanderies and



Annual Receipt, on an average of ten years,  
from 1779 to 1788.

Maltese Money.			English Money.		
Crowns.	T.	G.	£.	s.	d.

other dignities on which they were placed, the persons possessed of them suffered great inconvenience whilst these vacancies lasted; and as they happened very frequently, the last general chapter, in consideration of the said inconvenience, permitted the pensions to be renounced in favour of the treasury; which, after retaining ten per cent, agreed to pay the remainder annually to the pensioner, and that without interruption either from vacancies or any other cause whatsoever. This composition not only cleared the pensions from all the above mortuary duties, &c. but likewise from any negligence of which the commanders might be guilty in the regular payment of them. This kind of composition had, however, been abolished of late years.

1,610 4 8 . 161 0 8

ARTICLE X.

*Rents of different kinds.*

This article consisted principally in the interest of all the funds placed by the members out of the convent, and which belonged to the treasury after their deaths. It likewise comprised the rent of a few houses situated out of the convent, which were the property of the treasury.

29,951 1 11 . 2,995 2 3

ARTICLE XI.

*Different Foundations.*

These consisted in divers foundations made by the members of the order for different purposes, such as the maintenance of the galleys, hospital, fortifications, &c.; but the interest being insufficient to answer the end proposed, the annual product was paid into the public coffer, which, on



	Annual Receipt, on an average of ten years, from 1779 to 1788.					
	Maltese Money.			English Money.		
	Crowns.	T.	G.	£.	s.	d.
that account, engaged itself to make up all deficiencies. . . . .	6,110	7	0	.	611	1 0

ARTICLE XII.

*Foundations vested in the Treasury.*

These comprised the four foundations made by Lascaris, Paulo , and Caraffa ; the administration of which was entrusted to the treasury. This property was all situated in the island. . 34,302 5 11 . 3,430 4 10½

ARTICLE XIII.

*Houses belonging to the Treasury.*

The rents of several houses, storehouses, and a few gardens in Malta, all of which were the property of the treasury. . . . . 4,333 6 0 . 433 0 0

ARTICLE XIV.

*Lazaretto Duties.*

The storehouses belonging to the Lazaretto being built by the treasury, all the merchandises lodged in them to perform quarantine paid about one per cent of the value of the goods, by way of indemnification for so considerable an expence. 1,311 9 0 . 131 3 6

ARTICLE XV.

*The Pope's Bull, and Printing-Office.*

A bull from the pope was granted, and distributed every year\*, to permit eggs and butter to be eaten during Lent. The sale of this permis-

\* This bull, called the *Crusade*, was published in Spain and Portugal, and the money produced from it was applied to the use of the admiralty, and the fitting out expeditions against the infidels.



		Annual Receipt, on an average of ten years, from 1779 to 1788.				
		Maltese Money.			English Money.	
		Crowns.	T.	G.	£.	s. d.
sion, together with the product of the printing-						
office situated in the grand-master's palace,						
amounted to . . . . .		10,557	2	13	1,055	14 6

ARTICLE XVI.

*Duties paid by the Nobles.*

A trifling duty ordained by the statutes to be paid by every member of the order, at his reception, into the treasury, on condition that the said treasury should defray the expences of all law-suits relative to first receptions till such time as the sentence of the rota should be pronounced.

440 8 7 . 44 1 4½

ARTICLE XVII.

*Ransom of Slaves.*

The order restored to liberty the Turkish slaves in its possession on being paid their ransom, which produced. . . . .

16,617 4 18 . 1,661 14 6

ARTICLE XVIII.

*Minting, or coining of Money.*

The order at one time was allowed the privilege of buying up Spanish pistoles, by which means they gained five per cent; but since the government encreased their value to six and a half, the treasury no longer thought it worth while to convert them into Maltese coins\*.

2,504 2 0 . 250 8 4

ARTICLE XIX.

*Lottery.*

The treasury opened a lottery in 1781, which was obliged to be shut up before the tickets were

\* The coinage of gold specie was also sometimes very expensive.



	Annual Receipt, on an average of ten years, from 1779 to 1788.				
	Maltese Money.			English Money.	
	Crowns.	l.	s.	£.	d.
all drawn ; and the value of the prizes left in the wheel being greater than that of the tickets, the order gained the sum of . . . . .	2,866	7	19	286	13 0

ARTICLE XX.					
<i>Interest of Money advanced by the Treasury.</i>					
The treasury lent sums of money to the commanders, for which they paid interest, and the languages were security for the payment of the principal. This loan was only on particular occasions, when it was judged necessary either to encrease or preserve the revenue of the commanderies. . . . .					
	6,378	4	0	637	16 2

ARTICLE XXI.					
<i>Sale of real Estates.</i>					
This article comprises the product of several real estates, such as houses, gardens, &c. . . . .					
	4,532	2	0	453	4 2

ARTICLE XXII.					
<i>Secret Restitutions.</i>					
This article requires no explanation. . . . .					
	653	14	2	65	8 6

ARTICLE XXIII.					
<i>Flag Duties.</i>					
A duty paid to the treasury by the corsairs who hoisted the colours of the order on a cruise. . . . .					
	50	0	0	5	0 0

ARTICLE XXIV.					
<i>Different Rents.</i>					
So many articles of trifling value were comprised under this head, that they are not worth particularising. . . . .					
	110	3	1	11	0 6



Annual Receipt, on an average of ten years, from 1779 to 1788.					
Maltese Money.			English Money.		
Crowns.	T.	G.	£.	s.	d.

ARTICLE XXV.

*Extraordinary Entries.*

This article comprised all the sums borrowed  
from the treasury in the course of ten years. . 45,842 6 12 . 4,584 5 0

Annual total of the ordinary receipts, on an average from 1779 to 1788, inclusive .	1,315,299 8 12 .	131,529 19 3
Extraordinary receipts . . . .	45,842 6 3 .	4,584 5 0
Total	1,361,141 8 14 .	136,114 4 3

A TABLE of the Sums contributed to the ordinary RECEIPTS by the CONVENT,  
and by each separate LANGUAGE.

Names of the Countries and dif- ferent Languages.			Common Years.			English Money.		
			Cr.	T.	G.	£.	s.	d.
France .	{	Provence	198,914	8	8	580,406	1	2
		Auvergne	71,981	7	4			
		France	309,509	9	0			
Spain .	{	Arragon	115,056	9	5	271,456	10	18
		Castille	156,398	1	18			
Portugal . . . .			.	.	.	91,876	2	16
Italy . . . . .			.	.	.	235,334	1	8
Germany . . . .			.	.	.	40,954	5	8
Anglo-Bavarian . .			.	.	.	2,156	5	1
Poland . . . . .			.	.	.	6,616	8	9
Convent . . . . .			.	.	.	36,500	9	10
Total			1,265,299	8	12	126,529	0	9







A  
GENERAL TABLE

OF ALL

THE DIFFERENT ARTICLES WHICH COMPOSE THE RECEIPT OF THE TREASURY OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM.

NAMES OF THE ARTICLES WHICH COMPOSE THE RECEIPT.			1779.			1780.			1781.			1782.			1783.			1784.			1785.			1786.			1787.			1788.			Total Amount in Ten Years.			Average Amount in One Year.					
ITALIAN NAMES.			ENGLISH NAMES.			M. Cr.	T.	G.	M. Cr.	T.	G.	M. Cr.	T.	G.	M. Cr.	T.	G.	M. Cr.	T.	G.	M. Cr.	T.	G.	M. Cr.	T.	G.	M. Cr.	T.	G.	M. Cr.	T.	G.	M. Cr.	T.	G.						
1	Risposioni	Responsions	467757	5	4	467757	5	4	467757	5	4	492398	8	9	467757	5	4	467757	5	4	492469	7	6	479421	8	5	476326	2	4	472670	2	19	4752073	7	3	475207	4	6			
2	Mortori e Vacanti	Mortuary and Vacancy	298261	7	15	149793	11	12	231988	2	4	150189	6	16	214207	7	16	232415	4	17	205017	3	6	186925	6	4	217302	5	17	261116	2	5	2147217	10	12	214721	9	9			
3	Passagi	Passage	152569	11	8	164770	9	17	196165	5	5	274761	10	15	190545	8	16	176807	5	11	153996	2	2	236621	—	5	219528	8	—	267679	10	1	2033447	—	—	203344	8	8			
4	Spogli	Spoils	239353	8	4	216319	—	15	175861	1	6	596412	4	8	57517	6	1	209556	2	1	468322	5	1	96514	7	4	250227	10	9	165415	8	—	2475500	5	9	247550	—	11			
5	Annate Priorali	Priory Annats	2000	—	—	1000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	21940	—	14	—	—	—	18151	11	6	4655	—	—	47747	—	—	4774	8	8				
6	Gioje Priorali	Priory Presents	128	4	—	116	8	—	116	8	—	420	10	2	421	8	5	1285	11	8	779	7	—	721	10	10	320	10	—	721	10	—	5032	3	5	503	2	15			
7	Donativi	Presents	10000	—	—	1235	3	17	3421	4	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	14656	8	9	1465	8	1				
8	Boschi	Woods or Timber	57870	9	7	46085	7	16	56284	2	—	53476	10	8	24345	2	3	62721	5	10	43136	1	3	52372	—	6	63544	4	4	19989	4	8	479825	11	5	47982	7	3			
9	Pensioni Rinunciati	Renounced Pensions	1141	2	16	—	—	—	—	—	—	2284	3	15	1449	3	6	802	6	18	3036	2	10	2052	4	11	1601	—	9	4452	10	8	16103	8	—	1610	4	8			
10	Rendite diverse	Rents of different Kinds	14247	4	5	37193	11	9	15952	—	4	57379	2	14	14685	11	18	22271	10	18	30058	2	17	25131	9	8	17935	4	5	63855	7	14	299511	5	10	29951	1	15			
11	Fondazioni diversi	Different Foundations	6953	3	14	4859	5	13	4662	11	18	6260	9	—	6908	6	8	5490	2	13	4966	10	2	9974	6	6	5738	2	19	5290	10	13	61105	9	6	6111	6	19			
12	QUATTRO FONDI. ONL.	Lascaris	19841	9	14	17686	11	19	20927	—	13	23691	—	9	23964	—	12	23295	9	12	26889	2	6	25858	—	3	24937	10	18	20969	—	12	343024	7	11	34302	5	11			
		Paola	4373	—	4	3417	5	4	6988	—	15	6950	2	18	6874	9	5	6288	11	10	6996	7	10	6491	5	—	8112	7	11	5899	10	2									
		Perellos	3247	1	16	3403	3	14	3554	2	15	3518	8	18	3671	1	10	3125	9	14	3335	5	3	3549	9	16	3347	6	6	3676	5	3									
		Caraffa	1667	1	6	—	—	—	1837	5	8	1307	9	—	1793	—	7	1775	9	7	2849	6	15	2763	8	19	2358	8	4	2799	9	—									
13	Case del Tesoro	{ Houses belonging to the Treasury }	4203	7	17	3916	7	3	4859	5	14	5070	4	1	3827	10	17	4857	11	14	6485	9	—	5422	6	11	3237	10	—	1447	11	18	43330	—	9	4333	—	1			
14	Dritti di Lazzaretto	Lazzaretto Duties	1901	10	—	1004	6	3	1280	—	—	810	—	—	240	—	—	1524	6	1	2255	8	3	1812	5	11	1482	8	1	805	9	19	13117	5	18	1311	—	9			
15	Bolla della Crociata	{ The Pope's Bull and Printing-Office }	4871	3	2	11575	6	9	5715	—	—	14331	7	10	10604	5	6	10058	10	1	12878	7	16	11147	11	2	12608	1	16	11780	9	11	105572	2	13	10557	2	13			
16	Dritti di Nobiltà	Duties paid by the Nobles	305	—	—	35	—	—	20	4	18	—	—	—	675	—	—	855	—	—	154	1	3	405	—	—	1348	2	5	918	—	—	4406	11	10	440	8	7			
17	Riscatto de Schiavi	Ransom of Slaves	8315	—	—	6567	4	14	8350	—	—	8100	—	—	80102	6	—	1200	—	—	3319	5	2	4775	—	—	10575	—	—	34869	9	3	166114	—	19	16617	4	18			
18	Zeccu	Minting or Coining of Money	18268	8	19	59	6	14	2016	7	1	5065	—	19	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2187	7	4	—	—	—	25041	8	6	2504	2	—			
19	Benefiziata	Lottery	2866	7	19	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2866	7	19	286	8	—				
20	Lucri provenienti	{ Interest of Money advanced by the Treasury }	9304	8	9	5851	11	11	6859	4	13	8813	4	17	7029	5	12	4357	5	7	6129	9	3	5760	4	5	4808	4	7	4865	4	—	63780	2	4	6378	8	—			
21	Vendita di Stabili	Sale of real Estates	4027	6	—	—	—	—	214	—	—	—	—	—	20000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	21079	4	—	—	—	—	45321	4	—	4532	1	12			
22	Restituzioni segrete	Secret Restitutions	557	5	2	568	7	2	1043	—	11	1137	9	1	81	2	13	241	10	11	180	2	5	1452	7	18	329	3	—	945	7	—	6537	7	8	653	9	2			
23	Dritti di Bandiera	Flag Duties	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	500	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	500	—	—	50	—	—				
24	Introiti diversi	Different Rents	620	5	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	127	8	10	35	5	19	—	—	—	67	7	1	—	—	—	251	3	1	—	—	—	1102	6	6	110	3	1			
25	Introito straordinario	Extraordinary Entries	3920	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	151500	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8098	2	3	—	—	—	458425	6	3	45842	3	4			
Total of the common Receipt from the Year 1779 to 1788 inclusive																																	13152997			1315299					
Extraordinary Receipt																																				458425			45842		
Total of the whole Receipt																																				13611422			1361141		

TAB. II.—VOL. I, p. 305.



The following FOUNDATIONS, though under the management of Administrators entirely independent of the Treasury, might still be considered as making part of its Revenue, because if they had never been made, the general expences would have amounted every year to a sum equal to that produced by the said Foundations : the first two of which were instituted by the Grand-Masters whose name they bear ; the third by a Lady from Sienna, named Sarpi, in 1631 ; and the three others by different Members of the Order.

Names of the Founders and Foundations.	Foundations independent of the Treasury ; the Produce of which was nevertheless spent in the Interior of the Island.		The Manner in which they were employed.
	Cr.	£.	
Manuel . . . .	10,500	= 1,050	{ Maintenance of Fort Manuel, with its garrison.
Collover . . . .	10,800	= 1,080	
Incurables . . .	1,500	= 150	{ Maintenance of the Hospital for Women.
Passalacqua . . .	2,500	= 250	{ These three sums were appropriated to the expences of the church of St. John.
Lomellini . . . .	650	= 65	
Maradasi . . . .	700	= 70	
	26,650	2,665	



TABLE III  
GENERAL EXPENDITURE.

		Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years, from 1779 to 1788, inclusive.					
		Maltese Money.			English Money.		
		Crowns.	T.	G.	£.	s.	d.
ARTICLE I.							
<i>Ambassadors.</i>							
THIS article includes their salary, with the particular gratifications bestowed on them on different occasions; likewise the pay of the secretaries, with some other expences attached to their office; which vary every year.							
		38,026	7	0	3,802	13	2
ARTICLE II.							
<i>Receivers.</i>							
THIS article not only relates to the salaries paid to the agents and lawyers belonging to the receivers' offices, but also to the wages of the secretaries and other inferior persons employed under them; and to the expences both of the office, and journeys taken on account of the general affairs; together with those necessarily incurred in carrying on different law-suits relative to the general privileges of the order.							
		66,433	1	12	6,643	6	3
ARTICLE III.							
<i>Conventual Churches.</i>							
The salaries of the different persons doing duty at the churches of St. John, St. Anthony, and the Conception, together with the yearly repairs of the said churches, made the expence of this ar-							



Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years, from 1779 to 1788.					
Maltese Money.			English Money.		
Crowns.	T.	G.	£.	s.	d.
ticle. The revenue of the three foundations of Passalacqua, Lomellini, and Maradasi, being em- ployed in the maintenance and repairs of St. John's church, lessened the expences of the latter.					
11,597	2	15	.	1,159	14 4½

ARTICLE IV.

*Alms.*

Which includes some trifling sums dispensed annually to a few convents, such as the Capuchins and Cordeliers ;—the vestments bestowed on all Christians who, having groaned in captivity for some time, had obtained their liberty from the infidels, and were passing through Malta on their return to their own country ;—the money given to different poor people for services rendered to the order ;—fourteen hundred crowns, granted to the poor at the Floriana, and six hundred salmes of corn ;—together with two thousand four hundred and fifty crowns in money, distributed among the poor of the island by commissioners appointed for that purpose by the council. The same commissioners were likewise to see that four hundred loaves were given every day to a certain number of poor women.

ARTICLE V.

*Grand Hospital.*

The whole of the inhabitants of Malta and Goza, together with all foreigners without distinction of country or religion, were admitted into this hospital. The sick cost the treasury from five to six tarins, or one shilling, per day ; but for some few years past, the expences of the grand hospital had been augmented.

. . 79,476 0 3 . 7,947 12 0  
R R 2



Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years, from 1779 to 1788.					
Maltese Money.			English Money.		
Crowns.	T.	G.	£.	s.	d.

ARTICLE VI.

*Hospital for Women.*

The whole revenue of the foundation for incurables, was likewise applied to the uses of this charity. . . . .

18,676 10 12 . 1,867 13 9

ARTICLE VII.

*Foundlings.*

A certain number of legitimate children likewise partook of this charity; but this favour was only conferred on those whose parents were in a state of the greatest indigence. . . . .

6,146 9 15 . 614 13 6

ARTICLE VIII.

*Gratifications.*

Annual pensions bestowed on different Maltese, whose services and attachment to the order deserved to be rewarded. . . . .

1,070 1 6 . 107 0 2

ARTICLE IX.

*Gratifications after Death.*

A part of the salaries of writers, and other persons in the service of the order, which was granted after their decease to their widows, and even sometimes to their daughters. . . . .

2,326 6 10 . 232 13 2

ARTICLE X.

*Nuns of the Order of St. Ursula.*

Annual pensions bestowed on the Ursulines in Malta, who were associated with the order. . . . .

519 5 8 . 51 18 10

ARTICLE XI.

*Nuns at Toulouse.*

These nuns were called Maltese; because they were all of noble extraction, according to the



	Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years, from 1779 to 1788.					
	Maltese Money.			English Money.		
	Crowns.	T.	G.	£.	s.	d.
rules of the order, and were likewise dependent on the grand-master. Their finances being in an impoverished state, they from time to time received assistance from the order. . . .	730	4	0	.	73	0 0

ARTICLE XII.

*Nuns of Martel.*

This convent was in Querci, and equally belonged to the order. The nuns were in the same distressed circumstances, and required the same assistance, as those at Toulouse. . . .

295	3	7	.	29	10	6
-----	---	---	---	----	----	---

EXPENDITURE FOR THE NAVY.

Every thing belonging to the navy is comprised in this article ; the whole expence of which amounted to 474,942 *cr.* 9 *t.* 13 *g.*

ARTICLE XIII.

*Galleys.*

The squadron of galleys, which before the building of men-of-war consisted of six, and even sometimes seven, was afterwards reduced to four. The ordinary expences were under the direction of different persons, viz. : every thing relative to the maintenance of the crew of galley-slaves and other sailors, was under the immediate inspection of the congregation for the galleys. A proveditore was employed for the rigging, and the commandant of the arsenal for the refitting.

These three separate departments were all under the inspection of the treasury.



Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years,  
from 1779 to 1788.

Maltese Money.			English Money.		
Crowns.	T.	G.	£.	s.	d.

A commissioner was appointed to overlook all the extraordinary expences of building the galleys: he gave in his accounts directly to the treasury, without consulting the above-mentioned parties. The expence of building six galleys amounted to 225,043 crowns annually. . . . 225,043 0 0 . 22,504 6 0

ARTICLE XIV.

*Men-of-war,*

Were first established in Malta in 1704, when the squadron consisted of three ships of the line. These were afterwards encreased to four, but of late years diminished to one sixty-gun ship and three frigates. All expences relative to the men-of-war were regulated by a particular congregation, entirely independent of the treasury; which, however, provided money and all other necessary materials for this purpose. No account was necessary to be given in of the manner in which the money was employed; except to the council alone, to which an annual statement was constantly made. Two frigates cost 236,693 crowns; and in 1781, two men-of-war were sold for 177,221 crowns. . . . . 235,827 1 9 . 23,582 14 3

ARTICLE XV.

*Extraordinary Armaments.*

The galleys and men-of-war being dispatched to Algiers to assist the Spaniards, it was thought necessary to arm two sloops and a galliot to protect the navigation in the canal of Malta. A tartan was likewise armed in 1779. These different expences amounted to the sum of 20,895 *cr.* 8 *l.* 19 *g.* . . . . . 2,089 6 18 . . 208 19 0



Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years, from 1779 to 1788.					
Maltese Money.			English Money.		
Crowns.	T.	G.	£.	s.	d.

ARTICLE XVI.

*Guard Galliot.*

There were always two to guard the port, in case of any extraordinary event. The expence amounted to . . . . . 4,915 6 10 . . 491 11 1

ARTICLE XVII.

*Office of Health.*

The expence of this office was more than usual in 1785; assistance being not only sent to the inhabitants of Lampedosa, but to the crew of a French vessel which was at that time attacked by the plague. . . . . 1,253 9 18 . . 125 0 2

ARTICLE XVIII.

*Basins for holding Timber.*

The timber for ship-building was always kept in water, as the best method of preserving it. The wet-docks employed for that purpose were termed basins; which, being in a ruinous condition, required repairs, estimated to cost . . . . 864 0 18 . . 86 0 2

ARTICLE XIX.

*Cleansing the Port,*

Amounted to . . . . . 4,680 5 2 . . 468 0 10

ARTICLE XX.

*The Lighthouse of St. Elmo.*

Placed at St. Elmo Point, for the purpose of directing vessels, and shewing them the entrance into the port. It was only lighted from the 1st of October to the 1st of May. . . . . 269 3 9 . . 26 18 7

Total amount of the expences of the navy . . 474,942 9 13 . 47,494 5 7



Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years, from 1779 to 1788.				
Maltese Money.			English Money.	
Crowns.	T.	G.	£.	s. d.

LAND FORCES.

All military expences relating to the land service were classed under this title. These were placed in different articles; which in ten years (from 1779 to 1788, inclusive) amounted to 1,730,385 *cr.* 8 *t.* 3 *g.* ; or 173,038 *cr.* annually.

ARTICLE XXI.

*Maltese Regiment,*

Was raised in 1776, and composed of 1055 effective men. . . . .

. 127,612 10 0 . 12,671 5 9

ARTICLE XXII.

*Artillery.*

This article included the whole expence of the corps of matrosses, together with the pay of the commandant of the artillery. . . . .

8,564 3 0 . . 856 8 6

ARTICLE XXIII.

*Horse and Foot Guards.*

This was a fixed expence for maintaining a certain number of men, who went their rounds throughout the whole island, on foot and on horseback, to ensure the public safety during the night. . . . .

306 9 4 . . 30 13 7

ARTICLE XXIV.

*The Guards of St. Julian.*

Chasseurs placed at the cove of St. Julian in 1777, to prevent the troops from deserting. .

ARTICLE XXV.

*Service of the City,*

Included the appointments of the majors, aide-majors, and adjutants ; together with the mainte-



		Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years, from 1779 to 1788.					
		Maltese Money.			English Money.		
		Crowns.	T.	G.	£.	s.	d.
nance and repairs of all the corps de gardes in the city Valetta.	. . . . .	2,826	3	6	. 282	12	6

ARTICLE XXVI.

*Fortifications.*

The maintenance and repairs of all the fortifications in Malta, and the dependencies thereof. . 12,764 11 2 . 1,276 9 0

ARTICLE XXVII. AND XXVIII.

*Castles of St. Elmo and St. Angelo.*

The expences of these two forts consisted in the pay of the old soldiers or invalids who did duty, in the maintenance of the corps de gardes, and every thing relative to the service of the two castles.

Castles {	St. Elmo . . . . .	1,959	6	16	. 195	19	2
	St. Angelo . . . . .	846	2	5	. 84	12	5

ARTICLE XXIX.

*Goza, and the Towers in that Island.*

This article included the appointments of the governor of Goza, and his lieutenant, as also those of different persons acting as overseers of the guard at the castles and towers of that island ; with other expences relative to the maintenance of those who did duty at the towers in Malta. . 1,439 0 0 . 143 18 0

ARTICLE XXX.

*Ordnance and other Arms.*

This article regarded the purchase and founding of cannon, the making of carriages for ditto, the purchase of arms ; in short, the annual cost of every thing necessary for keeping up the ordnance and small arms. . . . . 15,461 10 14 . 1,546 3 9



		Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years, from 1779 to 1788.			
		Maltese Money.		English Money.	
		Crowns.	T. G.	£.	s. d.
The total expence of the military department					
in ten years	.	.	1,730,389	cr.	9 <i>l.</i> 3 <i>g.</i>
In one year	.	.	173,038	11 14	. . . 17,303 18 0

BUILDINGS AND EXTRAORDINARY  
REPAIRS.

This article does not require explanation.

ARTICLE XXXI.

*New paving the Streets.*

The treasury, in 1771, advanced money for paving the streets entirely anew; likewise for making canals in them all, to carry away filth of every kind. The proprietors of houses engaged to pay a just proportion of the expence: but the greatest part of the buildings in the city Valletta belonging to the treasury, a large sum remained to be paid. . . . .

8,392 11 15 . . 839 6 0

ARTICLE XXXII.

*The Quays in the Port.*

Expences occasioned by the damage done by the frequent inroads of the sea, . . . .

1,346 5 18 . . 134 13 0

ARTICLE XXXIII.

*Arsenal for the Galleys.*

This new building, began in 1776 and finished in 1783, cost 63,986 crowns. . . . .

4,965 2 19 . . 496 10 5

ARTICLE XXXIV.

*Rope Yard.*

This article included principally the expence of building storehouses for hemp in the rope-yard which formerly were situated at a distance. . . . .

542 10 10 . . 54 5 9



Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years,  
from 1779 to 1788.

Maltese Money.			English Money.		
Crowns.	T.	G.	£.	s.	d.

ARTICLE XXXV.

*Lazaretto.*

The expence of the considerable repairs made at the quarantine at the Grand Port, together with the workmen employed at the new store-houses just begun at the Lazaretto. . . . 2,808 3 15 . 280 16 6

ARTICLE XXXVI.

*Storehouses for the Gallies.*

Extraordinary repairs of several storehouses belonging to the treasury, which are sometimes absolutely necessary to be done. . . . 715 8 5 . 71 11 5

ARTICLE XXXVII.

*Powder Mills.*

Expence of building the said mills, 7,966 cr. 796 7 7 . 79 13 3

ARTICLE XXXVIII.

*Storehouses near the Custom-house.*

Four storehouses near the Custom-house, on the quay of the Grand Port, being in a most ruinous state, were obliged to be rebuilt, and cost 62,010 crowns. The rent amounted to 2,280 crowns, including the valuation made of that which had been ceded to the congregation for the gal-leys. The sum employed for building the said storehouses might therefore be considered as a capital placed out by the treasury at rather more than three-and-a-half per cent. . . . 5,823 5 19 . 582 6 11



Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years, from 1779 to 1788.					
Maltese Money.			English Money.		
Crowns.	T.	G.	£.	s.	d.

ARTICLE XXXIX.

*Conservatory and Library\*.*

The old building, in which was the library, being too small for the number of books belonging to the deceased knights, which were continually sent to encrease the original collection, the conservatory being even dangerously out of repair, and the mint being the property of the French language, which had occasion to make use of the building, it was resolved to erect a new edifice sufficiently spacious to contain the library, conservatory, mint, two halls, a storehouse for the congregation for war, with several shops on the ground-floor, which might be let at a very considerable rent.

5,348 3 16 . 534 16 7

ARTICLE XL.

*New Burying-ground.*

The sum here mentioned is only part of the 8000 crowns employed in making a new burying-ground, began in 1777 and finished in 1779. This is situated out of the town, and was intended as a place of interment for those who died in the grand hospital.

52 10 4 . . 5 5 0

ARTICLE XLI.

*Lighthouse at St. Elmo.*

The expence of putting up a new lantern, 1108 crowns.

110 9 18 . . 11 1 7

\* The place where the coffers, plate, diamonds, and other effects belonging to the treasury, were kept. The knight who was entrusted with the care of these different articles was called the *Conservatory*.



Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years, from 1779 to 1788.					
Maltese Money.			English Money.		
Crowns.	T.	G.	£.	s.	d.

ARTICLE XLII.

*Hospital.*

Expence of removing the linen to a house facing the hospital, which was extremely out of repair. This house was called *La Camerata*, and cost the treasury . . . . .

722 6 12 . . 72 5 1

ARTICLE XLIII.

*Grand-Master's Palace.*

This article included the 200 crowns paid annually for the repairs of this building, together with the salaries of the grand-master, two auditors, and likewise those of two other persons employed in the service of the palace. . . . .

562 11 3 . . 56 5 0

ARTICLE XLIV.

*Falconry.*

Expences of sending and presenting hawks bred in Malta to the kings of France, Spain, and Portugal, and the viceroy of Sicily. The order made this present every year. . . . .

1,039 3 19 . 103 18 7

ARTICLE XLV.

*Tables :*

By which was understood the table kept at the expence of the treasury for the novices and professed knights resident in the convent, except a certain number of commanders, who, being knights, received a revenue of 2000 crowns from their commanderies. The chaplains and servants of arms who had commanderies worth 1000 crowns annually were also excluded. They



Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years, from 1779 to 1788, inclusive.						
Maltese Money.			English Money.			
Crowns.	T.	G.	£.	s.	d.	
were, however, allowed four salmes of corn every year, together with two measures of oil, and thirty-four crowns in money; the whole of which might be estimated at 150 crowns. 6000 crowns allowed the grand-master for the expences of his table by the treasury, were likewise included in this article. These were formerly placed under that of the grand-master's palace. . . .						
			53,957	4	3	5,395 14 9

ARTICLE XLVI.

*Soldée and Noviciate.*

These two expressions meant—first, an annual sum paid by the treasury to every professed knight—and second, a certain sum bestowed one single time on each novice, for the purpose of purchasing clothes. The said sums were disposed of as follows:—22 crowns to the knights; 16 crowns 6 tarins to the chaplains and servants of arms; 12 crowns 6 tarins to the deacons; and 7 crowns to the novices, who, however, only received 4½, on account of the drawbacks. . . .						
			1,490	2	19	149 0 5

ARTICLE XLVII.

*Treasury and Conservatory.*

The expences of the general treasury-office, together with that of the conservatory, which might be regarded as an appendage thereof. This consisted in the salaries of all persons employed in these offices, and in the repairs of the buildings. . . .						
			8,337	6	16	883 15 2

ARTICLE XLVIII.

*Chancery.*

Salaries of the different writers or clerks, paper, pens, and other necessary articles, together with repairs, amounted to the following sum: . . .						
			1,690	8	19	169 1 6



Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years, from 1779 to 1788.					
Maltese Money.			English Money.		
Crowns.	T.	G.	£.	s.	d.

ARTICLE XLIX.

*Slaves' Prison.*

In addition to the slaves who composed the crew of the galleys, and who were included in the article of the said galleys, there were a considerable number in the city, shut up in a place called the Slaves' Prison, part of whom were employed in manufacturing linen cloth and cotton, for sails for the galleys and men-of-war, whilst the rest worked at the docks, fortifications, &c. &c. The maintenance and clothing of these slaves amounted to . . . . .

29,428 11 14 . 2,942 18 0

ARTICLE L.

*Neophytes.*

The expence of the newly-baptised slaves, who were kept separate from the others. . . . .

8,834 6 18 . . 883 9 2

ARTICLE LI.

*Purchase of Slaves.*

A great quantity of slaves being necessary for the land and sea service of the order, the treasury was under the necessity of purchasing some every year from private individuals, to keep up the usual number. . . . .

4,488 6 0 . . 448 17 0

ARTICLE LII.

*Castellany.*

Some trifling salaries to the persons who composed the tribunal of justice called by that name. . . . .

222 8 16 . . 22 5 6

ARTICLE LIII.

*Fountains.*

The expence of making and keeping in repair all the public cisterns throughout the city, and in



		Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years, from 1779 to 1788.			
		Maltese Money.		English Money.	
		Crowns.	l. s. d.	£.	s. d.
the different forts and castles, was included in this article. The expences of 1779 could not be regarded as those of a common year, since a very fine cistern in the Floriana, near the church of the Conception, was finished at that time.		.	.	2,920 5 14	. . 292 1 0

ARTICLE LIV.

*Postage of Letters.*

The following persons being exempted from paying postage, caused the expence of this article:—the grand-master, his receiver, his three secretaries for the different departments of France, Spain, and Italy; the inquisitor; the members of the ordinary chamber, consisting of six persons; the commissioner of the post-office; and finally, all ambassadors and receivers.

.	.	.	.	20,396	2 11	.	.	2,039	12	6
---	---	---	---	--------	------	---	---	-------	----	---

ARTICLE LV.

*Annuities left by Will.*

Annual pensions given by the knights to different people, which at their death were allowed by the treasury, and a fifth part of their effects employed for that purpose.

.	.	.	.	2,971	9 17	.	.	297	3	8
---	---	---	---	-------	------	---	---	-----	---	---

ARTICLE LVI.

*Annual Pensions,*

Paid by the treasury to different persons by command of the council and the order at large.

.	.	.	.	10,930	11 10	.	.	1,093	1	10
---	---	---	---	--------	-------	---	---	-------	---	----

ARTICLE LVII.

*The Interest of different Loans.*

This article included the interest of money borrowed at different periods—first, from Rome,



	Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years, from 1779 to 1788.				
	Maltese Money.		English Money.		
	Crowns.	T. G.	£.	s.	d.
which from 1726 to 1762 received 2½ per cent ; second, from Spain in 1761, 1762, and 1763, at 2, 2½, and 2½ per cent ; third, frequent sums borrowed from the convent at 3 per cent. These last loans were principally intended for fulfilling the engagements entered into by the order of Malta with that of St. Lazarus, relative to the final division of the property of the order of St. Anthony. ' . . . . .			48,877	10	13 . 4,887 15 9

ARTICLE LVIII.  
*Drafts and Remittances.*  
The treasury having been obliged to make use of drafts and remittances to enable it to employ the greatest part of its revenue, which was deposited in the different receivers' offices, must necessarily have either gained or lost by the exchange in the course of ten years. An accurate account having been taken, the loss amounted to

768	8	12	2	.	76	17	6
-----	---	----	---	---	----	----	---

ARTICLE LIX.  
*Wood at Melicutta.*  
A large plantation was made in the commandery of Melicutta in Calabria, in 1763, in hopes of its yielding in the space of a few years a sufficient quantity of timber for ship-building. The order, however, had as yet received no advantage from this plantation. . . . .

1,823	11	16	.	.	182	8	0
-------	----	----	---	---	-----	---	---

ARTICLE LX.  
*Library.*  
This article would in future have been rather less expensive to the order; not only from the

VOL. I.



	Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years, from 1779 to 1788.					
	Maltese Money.			English Money.		
	Crowns.	T.	G.	£.	s.	d.
annuity of three hundred crowns left in perpetuity for its maintenance, but from the sale of the duplicates of books, which were latterly become very considerable. This library formerly consisted of nearly thirty thousand volumes; but the collection had been greatly augmented since 1788, and amounted in 1798 to more than sixty thousand.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	85	3	2	.	8	10 6

ARTICLE LXI.

*State Plate.*

This belonged to the treasury, but was used for many different purposes, particularly for the grand-master's palace, the hospital, galleys, men-of-war, and ambassadors at Rome and Paris. The expence of keeping it up, and adding to it at different times, amounted to . . . . . 3,277 5 8 . . 327 14 11

ARTICLE LXII.

*Jesuits' College.*

After the destruction and expulsion of the order of Jesuits in 1769, the treasury received the revenues annexed to the college, and defrayed all the expences. The outgoings exceeded the receipts . . . . . 1,847 8 16 . . 184 15 6

ARTICLE LXIII.

*Property belonging to the Antonines.*

This article included the expences attendant on the union of the order of St. Anthony to that of Malta, together with some yearly pensions given by the order to the ancient Antonine friars; likewise the remainder of the sum agreed upon



	Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years, from 1779 to 1788.				
	Maltese Money.		English Money.		
	Crowns.	T. G.	£.	s.	d.
to be paid to the order of St. Lazarus, as an indemnification for the share it formerly had in the property of the Antonines.	73,294	8 15	7,329	9	6

ARTICLE LXIV.

*A conciliatory Plan for the Priors of the Language of Italy.*

The Piedmontese knights, who formed the greatest part of the priory of Lombardy, having wished to separate themselves from the other priories of the Italian language, it was thought necessary to oppose their resolution; and though the order could not succeed in maintaining as perfect an union as formerly subsisted between the priories of that language, it nevertheless contrived to preserve it for three very essential objects, viz. the dignities, commanderies, and favours, bestowed by the grand-master, such as pensions, &c.

	10,114	6 12	1,011	9	1
--	--------	------	-------	---	---

ARTICLE LXV.

*Restitution made to the German Language of the Profits arising from the Biennial and Triennial Tax.*

The same motives which had induced the order to exempt the language of Germany from paying the whole of the responson fixed by the last general chapter, engaged it also to restore a part of the two above-mentioned taxes; the whole of which had been very nearly paid into the treasury.

	4,027	1 13	402	14	3
T T	2				



Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years, from 1779 to 1788.				
Maltese Money.		English Money.		
Crowns.	T. G.	£.	s. d.	

ARTICLE LXVI.

*Workshops and Storehouses.*

Different necessary expences in the workshops belonging to the ordnance, rope-yards, &c. which could not be calculated under any particular article of ordinary expence. Likewise the wages of clerks and storekeepers; together with the repairs of the storehouses, and replacing the different worn-out articles contained therein.

. 182,644 8 1 . 18,264 5 12

ARTICLE LXVII.

*Institution of the Anglo-Bavarian Language in 1782 ;*

The expences of which amounted to 14,081

crowns. . . . . 1,408 1 11 . 140 16 3

ARTICLE LXVIII.

*Recovery of the Property belonging to the Order, situated in Poland.*

The estimation here made is only of one part of the expence, the whole of which amounted to 72,998 crowns; but the bailiff de Sagrameso, who was employed in negotiating this business, having secured 30,115 crowns arising from the Polish property, the real expence of the treasury was only 42,885.

1,419 7 13 . 141 19 3

ARTICLE LXIX.

*Illuminations on the Birth of the Dauphin,*

Amounted to 2,331 cr. or 233l. 2s.

233. 1 5 . . 23 6 3



Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years, from 1779 to 1788.					
Maltese Money.			English Money.		
Crowns.	T.	G.	£.	s.	d.

ARTICLE LXX.

*Assistance sent to the Inhabitants of Calabria and Messina.*

The most tremendous earthquake having laid waste Calabria and Messina in 1783, the order immediately dispatched galleys to the relief of the sufferers: the expence of this expedition was estimated at 17,038 *cr.* or 1,703*l.* 16*s.*

1,703 10 0 . 170 7 8

ARTICLE LXXI.

*Expences relative to the last general Chapter.*

The confirmation of the statutes of the above-mentioned chapter cost the order 5491 *cr.* or 549 *l.* 2*s.*

549 1 14 . . 54 18 3

ARTICLE LXXII.

*Purchase of Freeholds.*

A small house bought for the use of the hospital, 1,854 *cr.* or 185*l.* 8*s.*

185 5 0 . . 18 10 10

ARTICLE LXXIII.

*Expences of different Kinds.*

This article included a variety of objects, too trifling in their nature to be placed under separate heads.

3,090 10 7 . 309 1 9

ARTICLE LXXIV.

*Extraordinary Expences.*

All the different sums paid by the treasury during ten years, towards discharging, in part, the debts it had incurred, amounting on the annual average to

25,400 7 1 . 2540 1 2

Total amount of the general expence

1,236,459 6 3 . 123,645 19 1



RECAPITULATION.		Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years, from 1779 to 1788.					
		Maltese Money.			English Money.		
		Crowns. T. G.			£. s. d.		
Ordinary receipt	. . . . .	1,315,299	8	12	. 131,529	19	3
Ordinary expence	. . . . .	1,236,459	6	3	. 123,645	19	1
Balance	. . . . .	78,840	2	9	. 7,884	0	2
Ordinary and extraordinary receipt	. . . . .	1,361,141	8	14	. 136,114	4	3
Ordinary and extraordinary expence	. . . . .	1,261,860	0	2	. 126,186	0	0
Balance	. . . . .	99,281	8	12	. 9,928	4	3

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



GENERAL STATEMENT OF THE TREASURY

At the End of April 1778 and 1788.

ARTICLES.	Particulars of each Article on the 30th of April, 1778.			Recapitulation. 1778.			Particulars of each Article on the 30th of April, 1788.			Recapitulation. 1788.			General and comparative Amount in these two Years.											
													1778.			1788.								
	M. Cr.	T.	G.	M. Cr.	T.	G.	M. Cr.	T.	G.	M. Cr.	T.	G.	M. Cr.	T.	G.	M. Cr.	T.	G.						
Cash remaining in the Coffers .....	659785	10	12	659785	10	12	1140235	9	7	1140235	9	7	2204655	11	10	3080137	—	7						
Value of the Effects in the different Store-houses	1544870	—	18	1544870	—	18	1939901	3	—	1939901	3	—	.....			.....								
<i>Credit bearing Interest.</i>																								
Of the Knights, at 2½ and 3 per Cent. ....	101603	4	16	316191	9	19	111378	4	15	307966	2	10	2166920	1	13	3045004	6	18						
That of the University and different Foundations, including the <i>Mont de Piété</i> , at 2½ and at 3 per Cent. ....	206932	8	4				167121	—	16															
And others at 5 per Cent. ....	7655	8	19				29466	8	19															
<i>Credit without Interest.</i>																								
Of Responsions .....	621322	3	11	1850728	3	14	835297	10	10	2737038	4	8							2166920	1	13	3045004	6	18
Renounced Pensions .....	22330	1	4				127355	6	10															
Knights .....	689574	2	16				468635	3	8															
Students, including the University .....	225235	2	17				239153	10	4															
Money advanced for new paving the Streets..	41166	11	17				72731	9	12															
Alban's Commanderies .....	88046	10	9				63341	1	1															
Jesuits' College .....	27574	3	5				46231	7	1															
Property of the Antonines .....	123805	1	3				856752	4	7															
Houses belonging to the Treasury.....	11674	2	12				27538	11	15															
<i>Debts at Interest.</i>																								
In France, to the Antonines, at 8 and 9 per Cent.	18505	11	13	1665912	6	8	.....	.....	.....	1670331	7	15	2166920	1	13	3045004	6	18						
At Rome, at 2½ and 3 per Cent. ....	621072	8	12				565135	2	11															
At Palermo, at 4½ per Cent. ....	17700	9	4				.....	.....	.....															
At Madrid, at 2½ per Cent. ....	708547	7	—				708547	—	7															
At Valladolid, at 2 and 2½ per Cent. ....	163219	3	13				163219	3	13															
To the Convent, at 3 per Cent. ....	136866	2	6				433430	1	4															
Credit .....																								
Debts .....																								
Balance of Credit against Debts .....																								
General Amount of the Cash, and Effects in the different Store-houses																								

TAB. IV.—To be placed at End of Vol. I.







99509	7	2	10930	18	—
87778	10	11	44877	16	—
7687	1	19	768	14	—
8239	10	3	1823	18	—
850	1	15	85	—	—
2774	6	6	3277	8	—
8477	3	16	1847	14	—



























